

NIHU Program
Islamic Area Studies

İlhan ŞAHİN

Nomads and Nomadism
New Approaches in Kyrgyz and Ottoman Nomadic Studies



TIAS: Department of Islamic Area Studies
Center for Evolving Humanities
Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology
The University of Tokyo

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Introduction

I began my assignment at Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, during the 2002-2003 academic year, while I was a faculty member of İstanbul University's Faculty of Letters, History Department. Since my area of expertise is primarily nomads and nomadism as an important element of Ottoman society, from the moment I arrived I was excited about being in the actual world of migration in Kyrgyzstan and about doing related scientific research. The fact that the Kyrgyz people always shared this enthusiasm of mine and saw me as one of their own played an important role in providing impetus to my work. In this regard, I must say that these last 10 years that I have lived in Kyrgyzstan have been the happiest and most productive of my life.

During the first days after coming to Kyrgyzstan, I tried primarily to make an inventory of the research and publications done concerning the nomadic Kyrgyz community. The first thing that caught my attention about these publications was that prior to the Soviet period the focus was on discovering geography and society; during the Soviet period efforts concentrated on identifying and understanding society; while after the Soviet period the focus turned to research on the Kyrgyz community, its identity and the nomadic clans (uruu) or the sub-clans (uruk) that make up Kyrgyz society. Another issue was the importance of data based on oral history sources and field studies concerning Kyrgyz society, which is a nomadic society and which has reached the present day by preserving the value of nomadism. This situation prompted me to think about the importance of oral history sources and field studies regarding the Kyrgyz community.

As time passed and as I came to know the environment and Kyrgyz society more closely, I began to better understand that research and investigations in the fields under consideration would be very appropriate because the observations and determinations I made showed that the nomadic Kyrgyz people, whose history reaches back to long ago periods, have preserved their customs and traditions without many changes up until the present day. At the same time, this situation demanded that in the scientific studies to be made on the nomadic Kyrgyz people, the focus should be on oral history sources, since they do not have many written records.

In order to conduct research in the framework of the stated subjects we followed the following method: first, we began by choosing the issues to be researched, not in a general way but with care taken to choose specific subjects. Next, the fields related to these subjects and the source individuals were determined. In this regard, using the snowball method, our first

source individuals were our university students. Through the students we tried to reach the regions where the research would take place and their mothers, fathers, and relatives, who would be our first source individuals. Subsequently, we were able to find other source individuals through them and in this way the snowball gradually began to grow bigger. So, by starting with the joint projects called 'The Formation Process of the Kyrgyz National Identity During the 20th Century', which has been completed, and the projects called 'Living History of the Central Asian People: The Case of Kyrgyzstan' and 'Eurasia Nomadic Research', which are ongoing, we have ensured that our research reaches a broader section and field, as well as more varied subjects.

As our research advanced, we tried to systemize and conceptualize the data, which is based on observations and oral history, by tying it to the recesses of history, to the extent possible. Additionally, we tried to compare our findings and assumptions on certain matters with the nomads and migrations in Anatolia during the Ottoman period, in particular. Afterwards certain subjects were presented as papers to related congresses and symposia, especially at the international level, and gradually they began to be published.

With the first products of this research seeing the light, we got together and came to the conclusion that a publication would be appropriate. We then collected the published and unpublished papers, reviewed them and re-classified them based on subject. The book that resulted from this classification has three main sections.

Papers concerning the Kyrgyz community's social and administrative structure, based in large measure on oral history sources, are found in the first section of the book. Comparative subjects related to administrative, social, cultural and economic history are in the second section. These comparisons focus mainly on Kyrgyz and Ottoman nomadic societies. In the third section of the book, issues concerning, especially, the time known as the Transition Period, after 1991, are addressed: the rebirth of the community's cultural, social and economic values; the dynamic elements that form the basis for relations between the urban and rural groups; family ties, being a member of the same migrant group and locality ties, the internal solidarity organizations formed by these ties; and the mountain pasture lands of the nomadic Kyrgyz peoples and the integration of these lands into the market economy.

As the papers were compiled, original names and places which were presented and published as papers were footnoted. In addition, since the articles were written at various times, footnotes, marks and abbreviations have some inconsistencies, which we tried to fix and bring more consistency to bear, as far as possible. Also, as we reviewed the papers we noticed

that in some of them statements containing the same thoughts could be found here and there, because they were written at different times. As best we could, we tried to edit statements like these and to add complimentary and comparative information where suitable.

In this study, an effort has been made to preserve the specific names and terms related to Kyrgyz and Ottoman nomads. However, because the Kyrgyz alphabet comes from the Cyrillic alphabet, certain specific names and terms related to Kyrgyz nomads appear in scholarly studies in accordance with the Latin alphabet. In this regard, in scientific studies written in English ‘j’ is used instead of ‘ж’ (Turkish c), ‘i’ instead of ‘и’ (i), ‘ı’ instead of ‘й’ (y), ‘kh’ instead of ‘х’ (h), ‘ts’ instead of ‘ц’, ‘ch’ instead of ‘ч’ (ç), ‘sh’ instead of ‘ш’ (ş), ‘y’ instead of ‘ы’ (ı), ‘yu’ instead of ‘ю’ (iu), ‘ya’ instead of ‘я’ (ia). Consequently, the following spellings are preferred: ‘Kyrgyz’ instead of ‘Kırgız’, ‘kymyz’ instead of ‘kımız’, ‘baatyr’ instead of ‘baatır’, ‘Kalygul’ instead of ‘Kalıgul’, ‘Bishkek’ instead of ‘Bişkek’, ‘khan’ instead of ‘han’, ‘kolkhoz’ instead of ‘kolhoz’, ‘Jibek Jolu’ instead of ‘Cibek Colu’, ‘Ichkilik’ instead of ‘İçkilik’ and ‘Kaırat’ instead of ‘Kayrat’. It should be pointed out, though, that the spellings in the book have not been adjusted for all names, terms and statements in the Kyrgyz language, but rather just for those names and terms found mostly in international studies.

An important portion of the studies in the book is based on field research conducted while I was assigned at Kırgız-Turkish Manas University. In this regard, I would like to respectfully acknowledge the following individuals: Prof. Dr. Karybek Moldobaev (former Rector of the University), Prof. Dr. Seyfullah Çevik (former Deputy Rector of the University) and Ayhan Sürek (former General Secretary of the University). These valued administrators always ensured that the University, known in those days as ‘Golden Bridge’, had a warm atmosphere for scientific studies. Consequently, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to them.

In gathering together these papers for publication as the first product of my continuing studies on the nomadic Kyrgyz community, at all times I received help, and at times arguments on some matters; from friends and colleagues whose names I must mention. These are: Prof. Dr. Anvarbek Mokeev, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Buran, Prof. Dr. Döölötbek Saparaliev, Prof. Dr. Kubatbek Tabaldiev, Prof. Dr. Cengiz Alyılmaz, Prof. Dr. Konuralp Ercilasun, Prof. Dr. Hugjiltu Wu, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muratbek Kojobekov, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Taalaıbek Abdiyev, Dr. Nurdin Useev, Dr. Emre Gürbüz, Dr. Sawai Kazuaki and Kiyotaka Sugihara. I am aware of the debt of gratitude I owe to these valued friends of mine.

Additionally, I must mention here colleagues who never failed to provide help to me during the course of my research. These colleagues

include Assoc. Prof. Dr. Göljanat Kurmangalieva Ercilasun, who accompanied me on some field research trips and who read through certain sections of the book and Dr. Baktybek İsakov, who ensured that I was able to make contact with many informants during my field research and who accompanied me on most of the field trips and reviewed an important portion of the text. Also, Stambulbek Mambetaliev and Kaırat Belek made sure that I could speak with certain sources related to my research and they were unstinting in their assistance to me. In this regard, I am deeply grateful to these colleagues. .

Before being brought together, some of the articles in the book were written in English and some in Turkish. My valued friend and colleague Jack Snowden took on the important task of reviewing the articles written in English and translating the Turkish articles into English. In this regard, however much I thank Jack Snowden it would be insufficient. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to my friend and colleague Prof. Dr. Hisao Komatsu, who ensured that the articles in this book, which are the product of nearly 10 years of study, would be published in book format and made available to the scholarly world. Lastly, I must express my deepest gratitude to my relatives, my ‘Kyrgyz tuugan’, who took us into their hearts as they would their own children during our field work and who always showered us with the traditional hospitality of the Kyrgyz people.

İlhan ŞAHİN
Bishkek-2013

Oral Studies

New Trends and Directions in Central Asian Studies:

According to the Project 'Living History' of the Central Asian People*

The social sciences, in the simplest definition, are the sciences studying all actions of mankind. The subjects of research and methodology of many disciplines of social sciences are involved with one another. However, all fields of social sciences rely on their own appropriate research and sources. This situation is valid also for the science of history. The essential sources of the field of history are archival materials and the written heritage. These serve also for different disciplines other than history. But these sources are limited when looking for details in historical research. Apart from the archives and other written sources, all memories, stories witnessing the actors and events of a given period constitute important bases for scientific studies. These types of sources are defined as 'Oral Sources'. Thus, the references to oral sources in historical studies and historiography have tended to increase in recent times. Oral sources constitute an important element which contributes reasonably to the science of history. But oral history should not be regarded as an alternative to history or historiography, but as a different type of source useful to better explain the history of people.

In this connection, an important portion of the oral history used is based on the views, observations, findings and comments made in the framework of the oral history projects named "Kyrgyz in the 20th Century: Oral History of the Kyrgyz 1916-1991", conducted by Maltepe University and Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University with the support of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Directorate (TIKA).

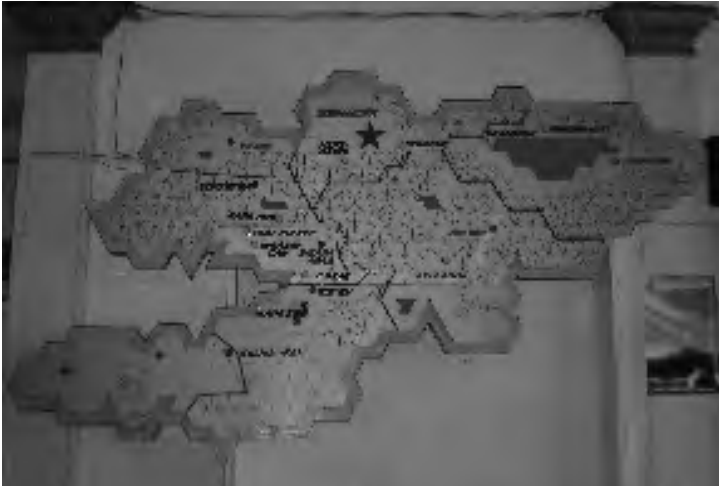
Another important project based on oral historical research should be underlined. 'Living History of the Central Asian People: The Case of Kyrgyzstan' has proven to be a project based on oral historical research.

In this respect, we would like to present the historical background and description of the project and its targets, its data collection process, regions where the research focuses, all the necessary work for producing photographs and films, the shooting equipment of the project, the project team and some details regarding the research.

The work related to the ongoing multi-year project started in February 2007 under the leadership of Hisao Komatsu and the project team com-

* It was presented at the *Conference of India's Eurasian Endeavour: Rediscoveries and Reformulations*, September 29-30, 2011, New Delhi, India.

posed of Timur Dadabaev, İlhan Şahin, Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun, Muratbek Kojobekov, Baktybek İsakov, Kaïrat Belek and Stambulbek Mambetaliev. These scholars are from different countries and scientific fields. Accordingly, the project has an international character. Also, we can call these project members the main working group of the project, responsible for all organizational issues, such as documentation of the project, identifying informants and conducting interviews. Another team is working on the decipherment of the recorded data and translating the results into other languages, like Russian and Turkish¹.



The geography of Kyrgyzstan, where the project studies were conducted

The aims of the project are collecting oral data on various subjects related to the 20th and 21st centuries, such as collectivization, privatization and issues related to political, social and economic topics; achieving realities on the Soviet and transition periods which are not yet written; discovering the history of the people during the Soviet period and the transition period; collecting data based on the memories of the people in order to identify aspect of their daily lives in the past, their opinions on former leaders and their visions of the future; and contacting different ethnic groups through face-to-face interviews to identify their relationships in the past.

The Project is based on in-depth interviews with the elderly, aged seventy years and above, from different regions of the Kyrgyz Republic. The informants are to be selected according to their advanced age, coming from different regions, social classes and professions.

¹ For a presentation related to the process and practices of project, see Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun, "Enrichment of Knowledge through Memory Studies: Oral History Research Projects in Kyrgyzstan", *SangSaeng*, no. 30, Spring 2011, pp. 28-31.

For all informants uniform questionnaires are prepared. There will be 16 basic questions in two parts. In the first part, questions aim to identify the family and the lifestyle of the family and the tribe of the family as a whole. There are questions related to collectivization, to life in Soviet rural entities such as *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* and on what the informants have heard about these institutions, their relationship with the Communist Party, their knowledge of the Stalinist period and periods of other USSR leaders, their memories in relation to the Second World War, their opinions on Kyrgyz leaders during the Soviet times, and their memories of Perestroika and Glasnost. In the second part, questions are more oriented to depict personal situations, such as religious rituals of the individuals, their cultural values, traditions, local habits, tribal relations during the Soviet times, their comparative assessments of the Soviet system and the present regime in the country. The total conversation takes usually 40 minutes to two hours depending on the knowledge and talkativeness of the informant.



The project team in a field research

The ongoing project is being implemented across the entire republic. Up to now, apart from Bishkek, *aīyls* (villages) in four *oblasts* (provinces), in more than 12 *raions* (districts), have been visited and more than 100 elderly people of both Kyrgyz nationality and different ethnic groups have been interviewed. Visits are made according to the informant's availability and appropriate timing.

In the selection of informants particular attention is paid to the variety of informants according to their status, age, gender and ethnicity as well as to various occupations as an indicator of social class. Within this context, the project team tries to identify the informants by the 'snowball' technique. Here friends, students and related persons are taking part in identifying the persons to be interviewed. During the visits more people are added to the lists according to the suggestions of the local informants.

Observation of the responses in interviews and conducting conversations with informants are accepted as one of the central purposes of the project. Because during the interview process, people demonstrate their

emotions, make a range of body gestures and mimics. Some people may lie, want to hide information or remember his or her better days. In such cases, as mentioned above, people certainly demonstrate their emotions with body gestures and mimics; consequently the observation of the conversation is preferred as one of the main approaches in assessing information.



A group of informants in Naryn city

Before the project team (usually 4 people) reaches the place where the informants live and work, the informants will be informed about the visit and most of the families meet the project team with happy faces. Because, they consider our visit as paying attention to them and to their ordinary lives and they always try to help in the activities of the project as much as they can. Most of the families do not allow us to leave without joining a feast with very delicious local dishes.



A group of informants in Talas city

As the team begins its preparations, the informants usually change from their daily costumes to traditional costumes. At this time, each team member implements various duties in the project. For instance, the cameraman tries to find an appropriate place for shooting. Screening is done inside or outside according to the season or the time of day. As he identifies the place, the cameraman sets the camera and other appliances up, checks the lighting and sound, etc. Another team member is busy with taking photos and projecting the work place, checking old and new photos and personal documents of the informant and various household items to create some affiliation with the past and memories and take photos of some of them. We have gathered a large amount of photos as part of the project documentations. Another team member is engaged with the written information of the project. S/he fills out the forms on the personal data of the informants, provides some essential information to the informant about the shooting process and helps in other matters related to the assessment of observation.

The process of shooting usually takes from 40-45 minutes to 2 and a-half hours. The process covers observation, evaluation of the space, the dialogue or face-to-face interaction between the two most active persons, the interviewer and interviewee. Other team members keep silence and listen to the entire conversation behind the interviewer. Both interviewer and other team members take notes of their personal observations. The interviewer asks questions following the order of the prepared questionnaire and asks occasional subsidiary questions according to the conversation.

At the end of the shooting, the interviewer expresses official gratitude to the informant and the official part of the shooting finishes. Then the informant is requested to show his or her old photos. Finally gratitude is expressed to the informant and his/her family again, they are given a small present in the name of the project, and the team leaves the place.

The informants who have been interviewed up to now consist of approximately 100 people who were older than 70 years. They are both female and male informants from very different backgrounds, environments, including people from rural and urban places. For instance, they should be categorized in general as former government officials and members of the Communist Party, who have labored both in the Kyrgyz SSR and on the level of the USSR; well-known writers, academicians, educational workers; *aksakals* (respected and distinguished person) from various provinces of rural Kyrgyzstan; eyewitnesses of the Stalinist repressions and participants of Second World War. Additionally, we have also interviewed the elderly from many other ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan, whose ancestors were exiled from the Caucasus, Central Asia and Russia in pre-Soviet and Soviet periods, such as the Dughans from Western Chinese provinces in

the early 20th century, Turks from Akhyska who have migrated in the early years of collectivization, and Kazakhs and Russians whose ancestors were relocated in Kyrgyzstan during the Tsarist period.

All of the interviews are recorded on digital video cassettes and recorded to DVDs. Then they are deciphered by a second work group consisting of Masters and PhD students from Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University. All the deciphered texts are translated to Russian by the same working group. Informants give additional and sometimes very different information from the written sources related to the social, economic and politic events of the 20th century. Also the implementation of this project has already indicated that during the Soviet period the tribal organization was kept alive. For example, in cases of the failure to meet quotas by someone, tribal solidarity came to help. It is also noted that tribal traditions were dominant in family and social life not only within the *aïyl* but within the larger tribal social bonds. These indications demonstrated that during the Soviet period the tribal structure of the people was never lost. Another indication is that the Second World War proved to be a unifying factor for the Soviet citizens. In sum, the implementation of the project has already provided us with some data that are not reflected in the archives or written sources. In this connection, various papers based on the initial outcome of oral historical sources were presented to some international conferences and symposiums, such as those entitled “In the light of Oral History: From Stalin to Gorbachev” by Güljanat K. Ercilasun², “Clan and Kinship Networks in the Kyrgyz Society according to the Oral Sources” (Living History of the Central Asian People: The Case of Kyrgyzstan Project) by İlhan Şahin³, “Peculiarities of Kyrgyz Clan System According to Oral Sources” by İlhan Şahin⁴, “Memories of the Past: Famine in the 1930s and 1940s” by Güljanat K. Ercilasun⁵, “From Nomadic Way to Sedentary Way of Life: Settling of Kyrgyz Village Residents: The Case of Residents of Madaniyat Village” by Baktybek İsakov⁶, and so on. In addition to these presentations,

² It was presented at the “Conference of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics and Society”, December 14-16, 2007, University of Tsukuba, Japan.

³ It was presented at the “Conference of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics and Society”, December 14-16, 2007, University of Tsukuba, Japan.

⁴ It was presented at the “First Regional Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS)”, August 4-7, 2008, Isyk-Köl, Kyrgyzstan.

⁵ It was presented at the “First Regional Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS)”, August 4-7, 2008, Isyk-Köl, Kyrgyzstan. This presentation was subsequently published under the title “Famines in Kyrgyzstan: The Memories of the 1930s and 1940s” in *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (2009), pp. 63-73.

⁶ It was presented at the “First Regional Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS)”, August 4-7, 2008, Isyk-Köl, Kyrgyzstan.

members of the project are working on the preparation of a book based on the first outcome of the oral history project, including various aspects of the political and social history of the Kyrgyz and other nationalities. In the future, the records of the informants will be opened to the use of all scientists.

In sum, social sciences are very important for the intellectual development of mankind. Nowadays, the significance of the interdisciplinary research has been increasing. In this connection, oral history study is a clear paradigm of interdisciplinary research. While conducting the oral history research, many disciplines such as history, sociology, philology, anthropology, cultural studies are applied together. Therefore, recently oral history studies are increasing.

Moreover, during the USSR, the history of Central Asia was written from an ideological standpoint. Nowadays, important steps are being provided to rewrite the history of Central Asia. Oral history studies constitute an important element in reconsidering and rewriting the history of Central Asia, as well. In this connection, the importance of projects based on oral historical research should be emphasized. As it was explained above in details, oral history project 'Living History of the Central Asian People: The Case of Kyrgyzstan' has collected many important results.

Appendix: A sample from the project activities

The last activity of the project was conducted in Talas *oblast* (province) on 6-8 May, 2011. Talas is an important oblast in Kyrgyzstan, because each Kyrgyz accepts that Talas is the main homeland of the epic hero, Manas. Also, well-known Kyrgyz novelist Chyngyz Aйтmatov (Cengiz Aytmatov) was born there. Most Kyrgyz in Talas belong to Saruu and Kushchu nomadic groups. Also, there are Kazakhs and other nationalities. Our students, Aйтolkun Borkeeva and Tamara Sultanbekova, and Baktybek İsakov from our project team, played a significant role in the application of the snowball technique before going to Talas.



Cousines of Chyngyz Aйтmatov in Sheker aйл (village)

We interviewed 11 persons in the center of Talas, *raïons* (districts) and *aïyls*. The ethnic composition of these persons is: 7 Kyrgyz, 1 Chechen, 1 Uighur, 1 Tatar and 1 Nogaï. Eight of them are male, 3 female. During the Talas visit, the project team visited Sheker *aïyl* (home village of Chyngyz Aïtmatov). The cousin and a friend of Chyngyz Aïtmatov were especially interviewed in the house where Aïtmatov grew up. Both of the male informants in the Sheker *aïyl*, who lived together with Aïtmatov, shared very interesting memories about their childhood and youth.

The project team was particularly impressed when those two people expressed their memories about the heroes of Aïtmatov novels from the same *aïyl*, and that some of them are still alive. Another informant is Zuuran Muhammedova, who was a Chechen woman from Madaniyat *aïyl* born in 1940. When she migrated here, she was six months old. She has 10 children, 3 boys and 7 girls. Because of this she was given the medal of *baatyr ene* (hero mother) in 1982. Another female informant from Leshoz *aïyl*, Farida Galieva, born in 1935, is originally a Tatar from Kazan who immigrated when she was 16 years old. She was given the medal of *baatyr ene* in the subsequent transition period. Konok Lepshakov is originally a Nogaï, born in 1934 and Fauziya Nazaralieva is an Uighur, born in 1940, who immigrated from Urumchi in 1955.

Regarding Certain Characteristics of the Kyrgyz Family and Social Structure*

Unfortunately, there are too few written sources penned by nomadic peoples themselves. This is the case for the nomads of Central Asia. Consequently, this creates a great difficulty in trying to understand nomadism, which forms an important portion of human history, and the values of nomadic civilization. Of course, this situation stems from the fact that information in the written sources of settled peoples concerning nomads are limited and indirect. This has led to biased judgements on quite a few matters, for political reasons. This being the case, on-site field research on the nomads, observations in this regard and the resulting determinations are of great importance. Putting these observations and findings in an historical context and, in fact, looking at them in comparison with other groups when necessary, certainly helps to better understand many values concerning nomadic civilization and shines a light on their cultural relations with other communities. In this regard, in this paper we want to concentrate on the familial and social structure of the Kyrgyz people, which has an almost genetic predisposition for nomadism, to take, in some cases, a comparative look at certain related concepts, and to put it all into an historical context.

The most basic element of a community is no doubt ‘family’¹ and, among the Kyrgyz, family is known by the name ‘*üi bülöö*’². The roots of

* This paper is the expanded version of one presented to a scientific meeting, conducted under the name ‘The First Memorial Meeting’, concerning Central Asia and held in Tokyo on December 7, 2006, by Tsukuba Daigaku Chuo Ajia Kenkyukai.

¹ For more on certain general findings and evaluations concerning the family unit, its structure, marriage and marriage variations in the Kyrgyz community throughout history, see S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgiz i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kulturnye svyazi*, Frunze 1990, pp. 227-283. For the portion concerning family in the version of the work translated into Kyrgyz, S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan tarhy boyuncha tandalma emgekter*, Bishkek 1999, pp. 149-186.

² The people we spoke with and interviewed regarding family during our field work, used the term ‘*üi bülöö*’ to mean family when they began speaking, showing that this term is widely used throughout Kyrgyzstan. We can mention the following people, in regard to examples of those who gave answers on the subject using this term: Kalygul Jusupov (born in 1935) is from Karatai *aiyl* (village), Chuï *oblast* (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 1, 2007); Imash Sarybagyshev (born in 1927) is from Tüp *aiyl*, Tüp *raion* (district), Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan

this term go back to the early periods of history, showing that the family is an important and deeply-rooted element among the Kyrgyz. Here, 'üi' means home and in Old Turkic texts it is written as 'eb'³. It is understood that 'eb' became 'üi' in Kyrgyz and 'ev' in Turkish. 'Bülöö' means family members, or those within the group. But here we must take a deeper look at 'bülöö'. In ancient Chinese sources the term 'bu' is given as the equivalent of 'bod' or 'boy'. After the period of the Huns, the 'bu' experienced a great dispersion and break-up. Following the dispersion of the 'bu', the smaller groups were referred to in Chinese sources as 'buluo'. Consequently, 'buluo' are understood to be discrete groups of people⁴. In this regard, it is rather interesting that 'bülöö' in 'üi bülöö', which means family members among the Kyrgyz, calls to mind 'buluo'. It should be said here, in relation to this, that in Anatolia the sub-elements that make up many large nomadic groups are called 'bölük', which sounds like 'buluo'.



A Kyrgyz family during the period of the Soviet Union

In the Kyrgyz community the term 'tütün' is used to mean home or house. The 'tütün' here has no relationship to cigarette smoke. The 'tütün' in question is related to 'tütme' (to give off smoke), as seen in state-

(Interview on December 2, 2007); Bübura Kydyralieva (born in 1927) is from Voronovka aйл, Alamüdün raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 7, 2007); Köchör Moldobaev (born in 1923) is from Kum Döbö aйл, Kochkor raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 22, 2008); Jamal Toktogazieva (born in 1936) is from Tügöl Sal aйл, Jumgal raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 22, 2008); Malimbübü Abakirova (born in 1954) is from At-bashy raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 15, 2010).

³ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 2010, dictionary-index, pp. 136-137, see 'eb'.

⁴ For broad information see İsenbike Togan, "Boy Devlet İlişkileri ve Buluo (Bölük) Meselesi", *Halil İnalçık Armağanı-I Tarih Araştırmaları*, Ankara 2009, pp. 43-86.

ments like ‘Tütsüknin tütüni’ (*Tütsügün* smoke)⁵ in Old Uighur and ‘Tamgakında kara *tütün* taşıkır’ (black smoke is coming from his roof)⁶ in *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk*. Consequently, it refers to the smoke that comes out of the chimney of a home or house. Today in Kyrgyzstan ‘tütün’ means home or house.



A three-generation family in today's Kyrgyzstan

In Kyrgyz society, the father and mother have important places in the family structure. Among the Kyrgyz, the father is called ‘ata’ and the mother is called ‘ene’. It is noteworthy that in Yenisey inscriptions - ‘bir yaşımta *ataçımka* adırındım’ (I was separated from my father at age one)⁷ - and in Old Uighur texts - ‘iki kolıçakın *atasının* boyun kuçup inçe tep tedi: amrak *ataçım*’ (hugging his father’s with both hands he said: dear father) - the word ‘ata’ is used to mean father⁸. The word ‘ata’ is used in almost all Turkic dialects to mean father, sometimes as ‘baba, like in Anatolian Turkish, and sometimes as ‘ata’. In Kyrgyz society, the sayings ‘*Ata-üüdüñ eesi, piri*’ (Father is the home’s owner, its sage) and ‘*Ene-üüdüñ kutu, uyutkusu*’ (Mother is the home’s sacred person, its essence) are important from the standpoint of showing the place of the father and mother in the family and in society⁹.

⁵ Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 457 (Suv 424).

⁶ Clauson, p. 457 (M II, 11, 20).

⁷ Nurdin Useev, *Enisei Jazma Estelikteri I: Leksikasy jana Tekstter*, Bishkek 2011, p. 66 (E 32, 11).

⁸ Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyrskiy Slovar’*, Moscow-Leningrad 1969, p. 66 (Uig III, 64, 14)

⁹ Kadyr Koshaliyev, *Aruuluk aalamdy saktaıt*, Bishkek 2007, p. 116.

Over the course of history, blood ties and union based on the *ata*, the father, has been foremost in the Kyrgyz family. In this regard, the structure of the Kyrgyz family has a patriarchal character. Traditionally in the Kyrgyz family the marriage principle of 'exogamy' is present¹⁰ and its roots go far back in time. According to the principle, the male marries a woman from outside his own group. In such a marriage, the father's role is important in family formation and establishing the blood tie. Even if the father has more than one marriage and there are children produced, the foundation of the family structure is ensured by the father's blood tie. To put it another way, the children of a father are the family's essential seeds.



An 'ene' (mother) and 'ata' (father) in the Kyrgyz community

In patriarchal ethnic groups, and in this regard, in Kyrgyz society, it is important that there be many sons (*uul*) produced from a father. One of the reasons for this is that the father's line will be continued through his sons. In this connection, the proverb '*Uulu joktun muunu jok*' (there can be no generation of someone without a son) is quite widespread. Another reason is that sons increase the impact and strength of a father within his ethnic group. When a father's children marry the family's ties extend and grow. With the blood tie, the family net is formed and this tie extends to 'seven forefathers'.

In Kyrgyz society it is important to know one's seven forefathers and to tie oneself to them. In other words, it is important to have a place within the family net and to know well the generations of the lineage of the family net. This is because it confirms a person's rights, laws and even that person's place as a member of the community. Otherwise, the person is considered an outsider and excluded for having foreign blood. Therefore, among the Kyrgyz someone who does not know his seven forefathers is not well-received and, in fact, is considered to be from bad stock. The family

¹⁰ A. Jumagulov, *Semya i brak u kirgizov chuiskoy doliny*, Frunze 1960, p. 30.

line that extends to the seven forefathers is called 'uruk'. In Kyrgyz society, 'uruk' is the social and administrative group which those with seven forefathers have created. These *uruks* show almost the same characteristics on many points as the nomadic groups in Anatolia known as 'bölük' or 'ce-maat'. In this regard, those from the male side cannot marry girls who have a blood tie to seven forefathers. They believe that if they marry the blood tie will be spoiled. For this reason, in Kyrgyz society girls are selected and married from another 'uruk'. However, girls coming after the seven forefathers can be married¹¹. In this regard, boys can marry girls from their mother's side without regard for the seven forefathers blood tie, although this is rare. A father's daughters, though, take their places within the family they marry into and within that 'uruk'.

In Kyrgyz society, it is possible for someone to come from the outside and be accepted into the uruk. These people are, for the most part, those who have entered one 'uruk' from another because of certain political or social incidents or for economic reasons. Or they may be persons who were seized in war and taken in as compensation for a tax and blood money. The people can marry with girls from within the 'uruk' they enter or from an external 'uruk'. In this way, the person who marries forms his own family lineage within an 'uruk'. Of course, such things lead to the disruption of an uruk's homogeneous social structure.

Among the Kyrgyz, the first-born son (uul) and daughter (kyz) of a father's children (bala) are called 'tun' or 'tun bala'¹². The oldest son among the children is called 'tun uul' and the oldest daughter 'tun kyz'. The 'tun uul' is seen as the person who will run the father's main business, ensure the unity of the family, conduct relations with the outside world and keep the traditions going in all regards. The second son after 'tun uul' mostly looks after the animals and is brought up with the aim of grazing them. The third son, if he is strong and forceful, is trained to serve in protecting the family and the uruk. Any other son besides these is called 'el balasy', if he is smart and has a nature that lets him work well with people. Sons like these can be raised within both the family and the 'uruk'.

¹¹ In this regard, Shamytaï Mambetaliev of the Bakachy uruk, which links to the Sayak uruu, married Kachkyn Mambetalieva who, although from the same uruk, is a post-seven forefathers relative. Shamytaï Mambetaliev (born in 1934) is from Örnök aïyl, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2008).

¹² In this regard, for the use of the word 'tun' for both the first newborn child and for meanings that convey a title, see Talât Tekin, *Tunyukuk Yazıtı*, Ankara 1994, p. 25; Hatice Şirin User, *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları, Söz Varlığı İncelemesi*, Konya 2009, p. 245.

The youngest boy or girl in a Kyrgyz family is traditionally called 'kenje'. In this regard, a boy is sometimes referred to with names like Kenjebaï, Kenjekul and Kenjebek and a girl is called Kenjegül or Kenjekan. The word has the form 'kenç / kench', as in the examples 'kench ury, kench kyzdar' (young boys, young girls) from Old Uighur texts¹³ and 'kenç süt sordı' (the child drank milk) from *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk*¹⁴. In this regard, 'kenje' must share the same meanings with Turkish 'genç', which means fresh, young and tender.

The boy known as 'kenje' has a special place in the Kyrgyz community. In the first place, he is looked as the person who will make his father's stove smoke and keep on smoking. In this regard, he is seen as a boy who get all the love and attention of his father and the family, and the father's home goes to him as inheritance. The main reason for this is that when the father is young and active he has the strength to build homes for his first-born sons, set up their homes and give them property. Of course, as he ages he loses this strength so he gives his house to the youngest child he lives with as inheritance. This tradition must be a very old one. Relatedly, in the state established by Chingis Khaan (Cengiz Han) the state belonged not to the ruler but to the ruler's family and over time every high official from this family had an income that was sufficient for a nation (tribe), an area, a palace and enough soldiers. In this regard, Chingis Khaan gave his father's home, the region that comprises Eastern Mongolia, to his youngest son Tulu; and his other sons Juji (Zuch), Chagataï (Tsagaadai) and Ügedeï (Ögedeï) got specific areas elsewhere. These sons were seen not just as the rulers of various regions but also as their father's travelling companions and trusted assistants¹⁵. The matter that catches one's attention here is that Tulu was his youngest uul (son). This raises the question of what is the relationship between nation and family. It should not be forgotten that the family is a small model of a state and reflects the traditional administrative structure. In this regard, we should recall that the set-up of the traditional Kyrgyz family resembles this form. A probable reflection of this meaning is the saying widely spoken even today among the Kyrgyz that is quite famous: 'Üï bülöö kichine bir mamleket' (family is a small state).

The administrative and social structures known as 'uruk' and 'uruu' are very important in traditional Kyrgyz life. Each 'uruk' or 'uruu' has a special name and they are formed over time. An essential element in the formation process of 'uruk' is the line of the male side stretching back to seven

¹³ Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyrskiy Slovar'*, p. 298 (Uig II 20, 20).

¹⁴ Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyrskiy Slovar'*, p. 298 (MK III, 181).

¹⁵ W. Barthold, "Cengiz Han", *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, III, 91-98.

forefathers¹⁶. Naturally, with time the family line expands as other branches form and this 'uruk' expansion is an important reason for the formation of other 'uruk' within the main 'uruk'. As for 'uruu', it has the nature of being an upper-level social, administrative and political structure formed from the joining of various uruk's that come together within forefathers' lineage.

Among the Kyrgyz, as the 'uruk' and 'uruu' structures are forming, we can consider that certain needs related to administration and law come to the fore. One of these is that as a family starts to extend its lineage toward an 'uruk', its needs related to inter-family social relations, economic activities and co-habitation increase that much more. Another is that each family begins to form statutes relating to the animals it owns, the summer pastures and winter quarters it uses with other families, and the ownership of the places where the family sets up its tents in summer and winter. Such situations prepare the groundwork for the formation of the *uruk*'s first administrative level and supervision, along with its leaders. In this regard, when protection of property and passage of same from father to son become issues there is a need felt for certain political and legal contexts. Passage of property from father to son, the sons of the family and the raising of these sons is of foremost importance. All of these set the foundation for the establishment of traditional customs, useage and thinking within the family line of the 'uruk' or the 'uruu'. The tradition of reliance on the seven forefathers, spoken from mouth to mouth in the framework of these customs and traditions, and knowledge of these forefathers, are inculcated. In addition, the stories, legends, historical assessments and advice that fathers tell their children are transmitted mouth to mouth and generation to generation. This tradition ensures the formation of the *uruk*'s intellectual ideology and, additionally, who the blood ties and relatives are is understood.

As each family's lineage evolves toward 'uruk' and 'uruu', there is a comparable need felt for a leader who will ensure the administration and internal order of the 'uruk' and 'uruu' and who will represent them externally. These needs spawn the designation of someone from the 'uruk' or 'uruu' to be this leader. But this leader cannot be just anyone. They are generally the father in a seed family who played a key role in the formation of the 'uruk' or the 'uruu' or someone from this father's lineage. The chosen

¹⁶ Within the framework of the 'Living History of Central Asian People' project, the information given by a significant portion of those with whom we spoke in Kyrgyzstan-some 100 individuals, over age 70-showed that the family line that extends back to seven forefathers within the *uruk* they belong to, plays a very important role. In this regard, for a comparative study concerning the make-up of the Alseyit, Shapak and Temir *uruks* that are linked to the Bugu *uruu*, see İlhan Şahin, "Sözlü Tarih Kaynaklarına Göre Avrasya Göçebe Gruplarının Oluşum Süreci", *Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future*, editors: H. Komatsu et al., İstanbul 2011, pp. 443-447.

person is then given the title 'biī'. In this regard, in Kyrgyz 'biī' is an administrative title and 'biīlik' means leadership or administration. 'Biīlik' transfers from father to son, with some exceptions. If the person who is the 'biī' has no son or he does not perform the job well then, based on the decision of the elders of the 'uruk' or 'uruu', the duty may be given to someone else and in this way the tradition may experience a change. In this regard, in the selection of *biīs* to be the leaders of *uruus*, the decision of the leaders of the uruk linked to the related uruu is important. Besides the leaders with the title 'biī', there are other individuals known by the title 'chong biī' (big biī). The chong biī is the leader above the *biīs* of both a few *uruus* and this particular uruu. In the 18th century the Kyrgyz community was made up of two wings-On Kanat and Sol Kanat. This makes one think that chong *biīs* of this nature administered the two wings¹⁷.

Besides the leaders known by the title 'biī', there was a category of them called 'bek'. However, the *beks* referred to a category that had an aristocratic character. In this regard, the two titles were different from each other. Someone could be a 'biī' but not a 'bek'. The *beks* were mostly the brothers, relatives or friends of the administrators. They did not work with farming or animal breeding themselves and had others do these jobs for them. Since 'beklik' was an aristocratic structure it passed from father to son and intermarried with other aristocrats like themselves.



Aksakal Abdyjapar Mambetjanov of the Manap uruk

¹⁷ Anvarbek Mokeev, *Kyrgyzy na Altaye i na Tyan-Shane*, Bishkek 2010, p. 125.

Above the leaders known by the title 'biī' in Kyrgyz *uruus*, there were leaders with the title 'manap'. The word 'manap' is understood to have first appeared in the Sarybagysh uruu and many ideas have been offered about its origin. In this regard, the word is said to have come from a cloth called 'manat' or from the Arabic 'Menaf'¹⁸ but these views regarding 'manap' have no relationship to it whatsoever. As far as is known, Zeki Velidi Togan stated for the first time that the word, without getting into its etymology, means 'naib' (deputy), in an administrative context, and that the administrators of the Kyrgyz, who became subjects of China after 1757, at that time were known by the title 'naib-i manap', meaning the deputy of the Chinese governor¹⁹. This explanation by Togan about 'manap' appears to have been ignored up to now, unfortunately. In this regard, the term 'manap' is understood to be the Kyrgyz pronunciation of the Arabic word 'menâb', which means 'taking someone's place', 'being a deputy', 'the place of the deputy'. In other words, 'menâb' must be related to 'nâib' in the meaning of 'vekil' (deputy), as Togan stated.

It is very difficult to determine when the word 'manap' appeared in Kyrgyz *uruus* and when it began to be used as a title for leaders. Nevertheless, it is important to point out a couple of things related to the term's appearance. One of these is that we can consider the word 'manap', essentially the Arabic 'menâb', to have entered Kyrgyz in the period when Islam began to quickly spread among Kyrgyz *uruus* and that it started to be used then. This period more closely coincides with the beginning of the 17th century. Of course, we must also consider political events with regard to the use of this term. The geography where the Kyrgyz clans lived, in what is today's Kyrgyzstan, was invaded by the Mongol Kalmaks, whose Cungan Khanate was established in northeastern Mongolia in 1635, and many Kyrgyz *uruus* were dispersed far and wide. About a century later the Kalmaks were forced to retreat and, subsequently, the dispersed Kyrgyz *uruus* began to reunite on their own land. It may be that the term Manap entered into this reunion process as a person's name or as a leader.

In the Kyrgyz community, there are individuals who carry a low-profile but who nevertheless play a key role in the solution of problems mostly in the 'uruk' or the 'uruu' to which they belong. The name 'aksakal' is given to these people. The word itself means one whose beard is white but among the group when 'aksakal' or 'aksakally' is said it is understood

¹⁸ For information about these views, see A. Jumagulov, "O termine manap", *İzvestiya Akademii Nauk Respubliki Kyrgyzstan, Koomduk ilimderi / Obshchestvennye nauki*, 4 (1991), pp. 61-68; B. Soltonoev, *Kyrgyz taryhy*, Bishkek 2003, pp. 115ff.

¹⁹ A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*, I, İstanbul 1981, p. 71.

to refer to persons who are elderly, experienced, tested, authoritative and whose word is respected.

‘Aksakal’ individuals are not elected but are those who gradually come to the forefront in the group because of their wisdom and experience, and who are accepted as such by the group. Being an ‘aksakal’ does not pass from father to son, as the example of Aksakal Abdyjapar Mambetjanov shows²⁰. However, the son of an ‘aksakal’ may rise to the rank of ‘aksakal’ within the group by acquiring knowledge and experience. *Aksakals* solve social problems within the ‘uruk’ or ‘uruu’ related to migration and summer pasture-winter quarters issues, in particular, as well as family and marriage problems, according to established customs and traditions. It is not known when exactly the ‘aksakallyk’ council emerged in the Kyrgyz community but the fact that they solve important problems of the group and make decisions, leads one to think that the council on which they sit dates back quite far in history.

Another noteworthy group within the administrative and social layers of the traditional Kyrgyz society was the one known by the title ‘baatyr’. In all likelihood ‘baatyr’ is a word shared within the Turkic-Mongol culture, and it referred to individuals who stood out in battle with their physical prowess, abilities and courage, who protected their uruk or uruu against external threats and who seized treasure to satisfy the people. In this regard, the *baatyrs* were initially characterized as ‘uruk baatyr’ or ‘uruu baatyr’, but because they protected and defended the geographic regions where the ‘uruk’ and ‘uruu’ populations lived, over time they began to acquire the nature of local and regional ‘baatyr.’ Of course, the legendary Baatyr Manas was the ‘baatyr’ who united the dispersed Kyrgyz *uruus* and who ensured the formation of the Kyrgyz nation. The ‘baatyr’ had battle equipment like a sword and shield and a well-trained horse with whom, in Kyrgyz tradition, he became one. In fact, there are legends and epic poems about their heroics. The most important aspect of the baatyr institution is that it does not pass from father to son.

There is also an important place in the traditional life of Kyrgyz society for those with the title ‘er’. As a word, ‘er’ means man. In this regard, it is understood that the Turkish word ‘erkek’ (man, male) came from the

²⁰ Abdyjapar Mambetjanov (born in 1927) of the Manap uruk, Sarybagysh uruu, came to our attention as an ‘aksakal’ during our interview with him on November 23, 2008, conducted within the framework of the ‘Living History of Central Asian People’ project, at Jerge-Tal aйл, Naryn raion, Naryn oblast. Mambetjanov is a Kyrgyz language philologist and he retired after 45 years of service in a high school. He runs the ‘Aksakaldar Sotu’ (Aksakal Judgeship) in Jerge-Tal aйл and, in fact, on the side of his home that faces the road there is a sign that states both his home’s and his own historical function.

word 'er'²¹. But being a man is not a birthright. From childhood, as an individual rises to a level in society based on his abilities and skills, and as he fulfills all kinds of military and defensive services at the side of the 'biï' for his 'uruk' or 'uruu', then they may become 'er'. In this regard, 'er' in Yenisey inscriptions of the 8th century is used for soldier, hero, and person, as well as as a title²². Additionally, the character of a person who is an 'er' is shown in the Kyrgyz community by the proverb '*Er jigit el chetinde, joo betinde*' (An 'er' is someone who is brave and defends the nation's borders against the enemy). Another proverb, '*Er jigit el kamyn jeit*', identifies an 'er' as someone who not only defends the borders but who also thinks about the people and who takes upon himself and shares their grief, their sorrow, their worries and their distress. After becoming an 'er', a person can take a place within the administrative and social relations of the 'uruk' and society, and then has a say in its affairs. In return for his services, an 'er' would be given a piece of land by the 'biï'. But this land should not be thought of like that of the feudal west. Rather, this land calls to mind the land given as compensatory property to Ottoman raiders known by names like Mihaloğulları and Evrenosoğulları for their services and as their livelihood.

In Kyrgyz society wealth and wealthy individuals have an important place. The term used for wealthy persons is 'baï' and the source of their wealth comes either from their fathers or from their own creativity. People known as 'baï' have money and property, they have children, and they have important summer pasture and winter quarters places. Consequently, they have significant influence and force within the community. In this regard, when young people marry these words are spoken with the wish that they will be wealthy in their new home: '*Aldyndy mal bassyn / Arkandy bala bassyn*' (May there always be property in front of you, and the traces of your children behind you), or, in short '*Artyn mal arkasyn bala bassyn*'. *Baïs* generally marry a girl deemed suitable by their family for their first marriage. An important aspect of being a 'baï' is that after becoming one they can marry again but when they take a second or third wife they must obtain the permission of the first wife. After these additional marriages, the status of the first wife rises in the family and within the

²¹ It is worth noting that the word 'er' is widely used in the Turkish of Anatolian for various meanings. In this regard, 'er' means male, hero and stalwart man. Besides these, it is used to refer to those who fulfill various military duties, such as in 'er' (private), 'erbaş' (noncommissioned officer), 'komando er' (commando), and 'emir er' (orderly); it can also be used to mean husband, as in 'ere gitmek, ere vermek' (to marry a man), and to refer to experts, such as 'sanat eri, iş eri' (expert craftsman).

²² See Nurdin Useev, *Enisei Jazma Estelikleri I*, p. 97 (E 50,2), 177 (E 10, 8), 231 (E 45, 1), 427 (E 11,3). Additionally, see Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, p. 139.

community and she achieves a more respected place, becoming known by the title 'baïbiche'. The other wife is known as 'tokol'.

Kyrgyz familial and social structures, whose characteristics we have been able to give here, have a traditional aspect and it must be said that in many regards they have been preserved to the present day. The fact that this is the case must stem from the Kyrgyz people living as nomads for such a long time and these nomadic groups living within a very tight social group. In this regard, Kyrgyz is very rich in terms related to 'tuugandyk' (relatives). Research in this regard noted 21 terms for relatives on the father's side, such as 'chong ata', 'chong ene', 'ata', 'ene', 'eje', 'jezde', 'ake', 'jene', 'karyndash', 'ini' and 'jeen'; 11 on the mother's side, such as 'taïata', 'taïene', 'ata', 'ene', 'taïake', 'taajene', 'taïeje', 'jezde' and 'böLö'; 15 on the 'küïöö' (bridegroom)'s side, such as 'kaïyn ata', 'kaïyn ene', 'kaïyn eje', 'kaïyn ini' and 'baldyz'; and 16 on the 'ayal' (woman)'s side, such as 'kaïyn ata', 'kaïyn ene', 'kaïyn aga', 'kaïyn eje', 'kaïyn' and 'bajja'²³. This situation points out the importance of field work to be conducted in regard to the historical, sociologic, anthropologic and ethnographic aspects related to the family, family structure and terms for relatives. In fact, for these studies to have more depth it would be worthwhile for there to be investigations of the aforementioned terms one-by-one and comparative studies of them conducted.

²³ On this subject, see Ch. R. İsrailova-Harehuzen, *Traditsionnoe abshchestvo kyrgyzov v period russkoï kolonizatsii vo vtoroy polovine XIX- nachale XX v. İ sistema ikh rodstva*, Bishkek 1999, pp. 160-165.

Clan and Kinship Networks in the Kyrgyz Society According to the Oral Sources*

The Kyrgyz are one of the oldest nomadic groups. The name of the Kyrgyz tribe was written as ‘Gegun’ in Chinese sources approximately 2,000 years ago¹. This situation indicates that the tribe’s history goes very far back into the past. The name Kyrgyz first appeared in Greek western sources in the year 569 and was written as ‘Xerxir’². It is noteworthy that the aforementioned name was written differently in Ottoman sources. The name was written as (قرغز)³ in a travel journal from the end of the 16th century and it was written as (قرقز)⁴, (قيرغيز)⁵ in Ottoman archival documents from the late period. According to Ottoman spelling rules, doubtless the correct version among these is (قيرغيز). The spelling of the word in different ways probably stems from the writers and clerks of the period writing as they heard the word and the way they preferred to write it.

Over the course of history, the name Kyrgyz has been written and spoken in different ways in written and oral sources (Kırğız, Kirgiz, Kırkız,

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¹ In regard to the Kyrgyz name passing as “Gegun” in Shi Tszü, one of the Chinese sources of the years 203-201 B.C., see *Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*, Bishkek 2003, II, p. 13.

² Mihály Dobrovits, “Kırğız Adının Batı Kaynaklarında İlk Anılması”, *Globalization and Turkic Civilization*, Bishkek, November 10-11, 2005, Bishkek 2006, pp. 141-144; Mihály Dobrovits, “The Altaic World through Byzantine Eyes: Some Remarks on the Historical Circumstances of Zemarchus’ Journey to the Turks (569-70)”, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 64 (4), p. 396.

³ Seyfi Çelebi, *L’Ouvrage de Seyfi Çelebi: Historien Ottoman du XVIe Siècle*, édition critique Joseph Matuz, Paris 1968, p.179.

⁴ *Belgelerle Osmanlı-Türkistan İlişkileri*, Ankara 2004, 29 Şevval 1203 (23 July 1789) dated document, no. 47, pp. 221-222.

⁵ *Belgelerle Osmanlı-Türkistan İlişkileri*, 20 Zilhicce 1298 (13 November 1881) dated document, no. 62, pp. 247-248; Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Hariciye Nezareti, Siyasî Kısım (HR.SYS), Dosya 2416, Gömlek 23, submission from the Peşte Consulate (şehbender) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 12. 12. 1915.

etc.) and there have been a great number of different views proffered about the name's etymology⁶. The widely accepted view among those offered is that the word is formed from the combination of the sacred number 'kırk' (40)⁷ and the plural ending '-iz'. According to this view, and similar to the formation of 'Oğuz' (Ok+uz), which means 'union of tribes', Kırgız (Kyrgyz) came from 'Kırk+ız'. In this situation, the name Kırgız is either a reference to the sacred number 'kırk' or to 'kırk' (40) clans or to the clan leader; the '-ız' suffix is understood to make 'kırk' (forty) plural.

It is worth noting that in the formation of the Kyrgyz community the 'uruu' (clan) and 'uruk' a sub-clan linked to the 'uruu', play an important role. In this regard, we should discuss the 'uruu' or 'clan union' that forms the clan extension of the Kyrgyz because the 'uruu' or 'clan union' constitutes the basis of the Kyrgyz community, which is clan-based.

According to legends and tales, the Kyrgyz family tree shows a dual structure⁸. Important information about this formation is given in work entitled *Macmu at-tavarih*, written by Seyfeddin Ahsikendî in the 16th century. These two structures carry the names 'Ak uul', the basis for 'On Kanat' (Right Wing), and 'Kuu uul', the basis for 'Sol Kanat' (Left Wing)⁹. The fact that these two structures are reflected in 16th century sources indicates that they existed prior to that. In this regard, the aforementioned structures show a characteristic similarity to the military, administrative and social structure in Turkic and Mongolian traditions. It is the widely accepted view that this structure shows a resemblance to the Oğuz (Türkmen) structure as well¹⁰. Relatedly, research conducted on the Kyrgyz community generally takes this dual structure into consideration. In the middle of the 20th century S. M. Abramzon conducted a noteworthy fieldwork research expedition on the Kyrgyz community in 'Tündük'

⁶ With regard to these views, see T. Tchorev (Chorotegin), "The Kyrgyz", *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, editors: Charyar Adle and Irfan Habib, Paris 2003, Vol. V, pp 109-111; Mihály Dobrovits, "The Altaic World through Byzantine Eyes", p. 396.

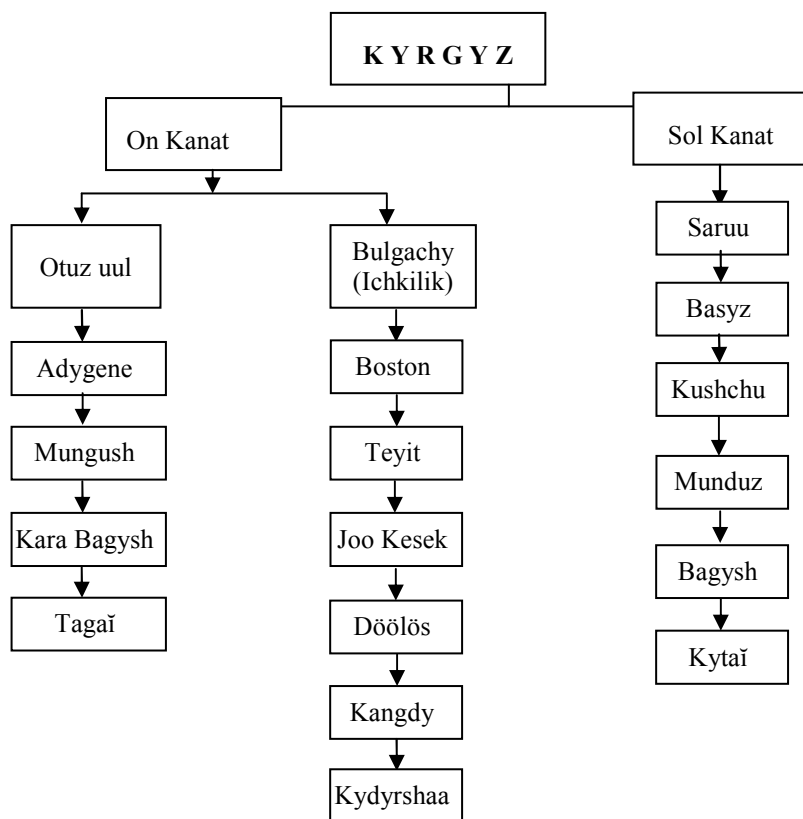
⁷ Among the old Turks, primarily the number 40 was sacred, as were 3, 7 and 9.

⁸ For the latest study on this dual structure in the Kyrgyz community, see Anvarbek Mokeev, "Dualnaya etnopoliticheskaya organizatsiya kyrgyzov na Tyan-Shane v XVI-seredine XVIII v.", *Tyurkologicheskii Sbornik 2007-2008*, Moskva 2009, pp. 258-272.

⁹ Seyfeddin Ahsikendî, "Majmu at-tavarih", translator: V. A. Romodin, *Kyrgyzdardyn jana Kyrgyzstandyn taryhy bulaktary*, I, Bishkek 2002, p. 294-96. Here Ak uul is cited as Ak Ogul and Kuu uul as Ku Ogul.

¹⁰ For example, see İ. B. Moldobaev, "Manas Destanı Materyallerine Göre Kırgızların ve Türkmenlerin Etno-Kültürel İlişkilerinin Kaynakları", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1992, Ankara 1995, pp. 91-97; Muratbek Kojobekov, "Kırgız Şecerelerinde Oğuz Efsanesi ve Kırgızların Kökenine Dair Bazı Görüşler", *CIEPO Interim Symposium on the Central Asiatic Roots of the Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Culture*, August 24-29, 2009, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, unpublished paper.

(North) and made a general evaluation of research on the subject and showed the On Kanat and Sol Kanat structures of the Kyrgyz people¹¹. Ya. R. Vinnikov conducted another research study on the Kyrgyz in Tüshtük (South) and separated the structure of the Kyrgyz community into three groups: On Kanat, Sol Kanat and Ichkilik¹².



According to *Mecmu at-tavarih*, the Kyrgyz family tree at the end of the 16th century
(From Anvarbek Mokeev's classification)¹³

Events related to the dual structure of the Kyrgyz community are reflected in legends concerning Dolon Bī, accepted as being the father of the Kyrgyz. According to one of these legends, right after learning about the birth of his first son, Dolon Bī gets word that his second son has been born.

¹¹ S. M. Abramzon, "Etnicheskiĭ sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya Severnoy Kirgizii", *Trudy kirgizskoi arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii*, IV, Moskva 1960, pp. 3-92.

¹² Ya. R. Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav i rasselenie kirgizov na territorii Yuzhnoi Kirgizii", *Trudy kirgizskoi arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii*, I, Moskva 1956, pp. 136-181.

¹³ See Anvarbek Mokeev, *Kyrgyzy na Altaye i na Tyan-Shane*, Bishkek 2010, p. 122.

Dolon Bī is quite surprised by this second news and suspiciously says of his wife ‘she gave birth to the first. Then did she also get a strange baby?’ Consequently, he gave the name Ak uul to his first son, which means real son, and Kuu uul to the second one, meaning adopted son. His wife was not pleased by these names and wanted their names to be ‘On’ (Right) and ‘Sol’ (Left), because the first one had been on the right side of her womb and the other on the left side. Therefore, based on the legend, those from the Ak uul line call themselves ‘On Kanat’ and those from the Kul uul line call themselves ‘Sol Kanat’¹⁴. In other words, the names ‘Ak uul’ and ‘Kuu uul’ are thought to be names given to people based on the legend or names given based on where they lay in their mother’s womb.

One of the important subjects that catches one’s attention from Ah-sikendi’s statements, is that Ak uul had two sons, named ‘Otuz uul’ and ‘Salusbek-Bulgachy’ and that the uruu union on this wing is tied to these two brothers. In this regard, in a recent study conducted by Mihaly Dobrovits regarding the term ‘Otuz uul’ (Thirty sons), which is found in Turkic inscriptions from the Talas region dating to the first half of the 8th century, he claims that this group was probably an entourage group at first and in its formation, later entering a tribe-building process and finally transferring this name to the Kyrgyz¹⁵. Certainly, this group was important from the standpoint of taking its place in the formation process of the Kyrgyz community. Although there are not many sources concerning the Bulgachy, there are clans today in the Kyrgyz community in which they are found: Boston, Teit, Jookesek, Döölös, Kangdy (Kangly) and Kyyrshaa. It is understood that over time the Bulgachy participated in political events in the regions where they were found and that many large and small *uruus* took their places within this clan union over time. It has an important place in the Kyrgyz community¹⁶.

It has been determined that the legendary information regarding the lineage of the Kyrgyz community provided above is today very much alive in that community. This situation is an important indication of how strong the lineage tradition was in the past and how was transferred from generation to generation by word of mouth. In this regard, Syrgak Sooronkulov of the Okatar (Okotur) *uruk*, tied to the Saruu *uruu*, who, like his father, is a

¹⁴ For information about this legend, which is widely mentioned among the Kyrgyz, and other legends and tales on this subject, see Temirkul Asanov, “Kırgızların XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Siyasi Yapısı”, *Türkler*, VIII, Ankara 2002, pp. 656-661.

¹⁵ See Mihály Dobrovits, “Otuz Oğlan Sagdıçları: Eski Bir Yazıtın Bize Öğrettikleri”, *I. Uluslararası Uzak Asya’dan Ön Asya’ya Eski Türkçe Bilgi Şöleni Bildirileri, 18-20 Kasım 2009, Afyonkarahisar-Türkiye*, editors: C. Alyılmaz-Ö. Ay - M. Yılmaz, Afyonkarahisar 2010, pp. 67-74).

¹⁶ See Anvarbek Mokeev, *Kyrgyzy na Altaye i na Tyan-Shane*, pp. 108-116.

sanjyraǵy, genealogist, counts himself as one of 22 people in a chronological line, with Dolon Bıı and his father Dombul Bıı, his first forefathers¹⁷.

Genealogy of Syrgak Sooronkulov	Genealogy of Kazybek Küsermambetov
Syrgak Sooronkulov	Kazybek Küsermambetov
Sooronkul	Küsermambet
Javaı	Atabaı
Tabyldy	Edilbaı
Barak	Taskulu
Temir	Marka
Düıshö	Üch Kurtka
Jumake	Choro
Jarmat	Kudaıberdi
Toktogul	Tügöl
Toktobolot	Chekir Moldo
Mendi	Tagaı Bıı
Tuvaı	Dolon Bıı
Könök	-
Jamake	-
Karanaı	-
Saruu	-
Jaıyl	-
Kööbash	-
Kuu uul	-
Dolon Bıı	-
Dombul	-

Similarly, Kazybek Küsermambetov of the Tokuz uul *uruk*, tied to the Sayak *uruu*, counts Tagaı Bıı and his father Dolon Bıı as his earliest predecessors when he recites the names of his forefathers¹⁸. The issue that

¹⁷ Syrgak Sooronkulov (born in 1932) is from Okutur (Okatar) *uruk* (sub-clan) belonging to Saruu *uruu* (clan) in Ürmarał *aıyl* (village), Talas *oblast* (province), Kyrgyzstan (First interview on April 7, 2007, and second interview on March 31, 2013). While providing information on March 31, 2013, about his family line, Syrgak Sooronkulov stated that the twins named Ak uul and Kuu uul were the twin children of Dolon Bıı, who was the ‘taıake’ (maternal uncle) of Chingis Khaan, that the Kyrgyz community sprung from the lines of the two brothers and that the Turks come from the Kyrgyz.

¹⁸ Kazybek Küsermambetov (born in 1936) is from Tokuz uul *uruk* belonging to Sayak *uruu*, Ügüt *aıyl*, Aktalaa *raıon* (district), Naryn *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 19, 2007). While providing information about his line, Kazybek Küsermambetov stated that Dolon Bıı is the father of the Kyrgyz; that he escaped from Chingis Khaan and came to the Tenir Mountains from Yeniseı, where he lived and died; today while going to Naryn there is a pass where he died that bears his name. Also, he said that he has forefathers before Dolon Bıı and his first forefather was Türk Ata.

draws attention in both lines is that they come together with their common forefather Dolon Bī. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that when lineage lines are recited some names may be skipped and different names and wrong information may be given. In this regard, information in family trees must be checked comparatively with other sources.

Besides the *uruus* tied to the ‘On Kanat’ (Right Wing) and the ‘Sol Kanat’ (Left Wing) among the Kyrgyz, over time other structures were formed, called ‘Ichkilik’, in which the *uruus* of southern Kyrgyzstan predominate¹⁹. A significant portion of these are the *uruus* found in clan union formerly known by the name ‘Bulgachy’. This situation shows that the ‘Ichkilik’ *uruus* are primarily within the ‘Ak uul’, or ‘On Kanat’ *uruu* union. It is not known why the name ‘Ichkilik’ was given to the Kyrgyz *uruus* within the ‘Ichkilik’ structure but the first reason that comes to mind is that this name may have been bestowed on them because the geographic area where they lived was more toward the interior than where the others lived.

Other than these names, the *uruus* that form the Kyrgyz community are named in two main groups. In this regard, on the ‘Chygysh’ (East) side of the mountains the Kyrgyz are called ‘Tündük’²⁰ (North); those on the ‘Batysh’ (West) side of the mountains are called ‘Tüshtük’ (South)²¹. The Kyrgyz in ‘Tündük’ generally live in the Chuī, Naryn, Isyk-Köl and Talas regions, whereas the ‘Tüshtük’ Kyrgyz live in the Osh, Jalalabat and Batken regions²². The Tüshtük Kyrgyz call themselves ‘Ichkilik’²³. However, it is possible to encounter groups from the same ‘uruu’ or ‘uruk’ in both ‘Tündük’ and ‘Tüshtük’. From the standpoint of geography, the Tenir Mountains play the determining role in this naming activity.

The reason why ‘Chygysh’ (East) is called ‘Tündük’ (North) in Kyrgyzstan’s geography and why ‘Batysh’ (West) is called ‘Tüshtük’ (South) is not clearly understood but it is worth considering the effect of the sun and the seasonal periods as playing roles in it. In this regard, the Kyrgyz

¹⁹ On this subject, see Ya. R. Vinnikov “Rodo-plemennoi sostav”, pp. 136-181.

²⁰ For general information about the term ‘Tündük’, see K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar’/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, Frunze-Moskva 1985, II, p. 282.

²¹ K. K. Yudakhin, II, p. 288.

²² Notable field studies include, about the Tündük Kyrgyz, S. M. Abramzon (see “Etnicheskiĭ”, pp. 3-92) and, about the Tüshtük Kyrgyz, Ya. R. Vinnikov (“Rodo-plemennoi sostav”, pp. 136-181). Historical information about the *uruus* and *uruks*, the sub-units of the *uruus*, that form the Kyrgyz community, along with copious amounts of ethnographic, anthropologic, sociologic and demographic information are included in both studies.

²³ Manap Kaljigitov (born in 1925) is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuī raion, Chuī oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on December 11, 2004). Manap Kaljigitov said during the interview that his official birth date is 28 June 1925 but he also said that he is 81 years old, making his birth year 1923.

community calls the side of the mountains that gets sunlight as 'Küngöy' and the side that does not get sunlight is called 'Teskei'. Within the general physical structure of the world, the southern parts are the places where the spring and summer seasons last longer and where the effect of the sun is felt the most. The region called 'Tüshtük' in Kyrgyzstan feels the effect of the sun longer than the 'Tündük' and the spring and summer seasons come earlier in 'Tüshtük'. Also, vegetables and fruits ripen sooner in 'Tüshtük' than in 'Tündük', the north. Additionally, the country's most important highway from Bishkek to Osh, runs toward the south. The characteristic of the 'Chygysh' side is that it sees less of an effect from the sun, vegetables and fruits ripen later than in 'Tüshtük', and it inclines a bit toward the north of the Osh-Bishkek highway. These situations make one think that 'Chygysh' (East) could be called 'Tüshtük'; and 'Batysh' (West) could be called 'Tündük'.

In addition to these names, the 'Tündük' Kyrgyz are called 'Arkalyk' and it is necessary to point out the determining role of the Tenir Mountains, from the standpoint of geography, in this regard. Some 95% of Kyrgyzstan's geography is mountains and in many places these mountains are steep and high. In this regard, there is a large mountain range between where the 'Tüshtük' live and where the 'Tündük' live. This situation has affected their social life and it is understood that those who live in 'Tüshtük' have given the name 'Arkalyk', meaning the other side or the back of the mountain, to those who live in 'Tündük'. In fact, because the Kyrgyz *uruus* entered the mountains in group form, it is noteworthy that the 'Tüshtük' Kyrgyz *uruus* have given the name 'Arkalyk', meaning the backside or rear of the mountains, to those who live in back of them, so to speak. And although the 'Tüshtük' Kyrgyz use the 'Arkalyk' term widely, the 'Tündük' Kyrgyz do not use a similar term for the 'Tüshtük', who live on the other side of the mountains.

It is very difficult to say when the units mentioned above in connection with the Kyrgyz community, like On Kanat, Sol Kanat, Otuz uul, Ichkilik, Tündük, Tüshtük and Arkalyk, were formed. However, we must consider that they were formed during different slices of time. In this regard, it should be noted that the aforementioned units may reflect both the administrative, political and social structure of the Kyrgyz community during those time slices and the situations in their geographical regions.

The three main groups of the Kyrgyz people, which were and still are in existence, that is, *On Kanat*, *Sol Kanat* and *Ichkilik*, form a so-called 'trunk of a genealogical tree' of Kyrgyz society. On this genealogical tree, we may see the branches of the major groups which are called *uruu* (clan) of the main nomadic groups. One of the main features of these groups is that each group consists of *uruus* and each 'uruu' has its own specific name,

such as Sarybagysh, Bagysh, Sayak, Bugu, Saruu, Kushchu, Monoldor, Munduz, Döölös, Solto, Adygine, Bagysh, Cherek, Basyz, Kypchak, Naïman, Teiit, Tynymseit and so on. The number of *uruus* in the two main groups called On Kanat and Sol Kanat is given as 16 in a historical source written in the 16th century²⁴. Of course, this number shows a gradual increase because of political, social, economic and demographic reasons. In this regard, Vinnikov gives this number as over 30 in the middle of the 20th century²⁵. The figure that Abramzon gives is close to Vinnikov's²⁶. In general 'sanjyra' (genealogy) regarding the Kyrgyz community, this number is not less than 30²⁷.

Each 'uruu' (clan) consists of some nomadic groups that are called 'uruk' (sub-clan). Also, each 'uruk' has its own special name and its members who are related and connected to each other by 'blood'. In the historical period, to live in a 'uruu' or 'uruk' from the point of administrative, social and political way of life is very important not only in Kyrgyz society but also for the other nations of Central Asia. In this respect, there are some specific phrases in Kyrgyz famous epic of 'Manas'. They state:

<i>Ata urugun kaısy can?</i>	From which generation is your clan?
<i>Uraany kim, elin kim?</i>	What is your call? What is your nation?
<i>Urugun kim, Jönün kim?</i>	What is your clan? What is your origin?
<i>Ata-Baba aıylyn kim?</i>	What is your ancestry? What is your homeland?

In addition to this, it is possible to find some specific phrases in Kyrgyz genealogies: They state²⁸:

<i>Tegindi bil</i>	Know your roots or genealogy
<i>lymanyndy sakta</i>	Save your moral values
<i>Ata-saltyn unutpa</i>	Don't forget your ancestral tradition

One of the major points of similarity within Kyrgyz people is the fact that not only Kyrgyz people but also each 'uruu' (clan) has an 'uraan' or, in other words, some sacred words or key words which are used, especially, in times of war. As an example of such, in general, Kyrgyz people used the name of 'Manas' as 'uraan'²⁹ and so on. Also, people representing the same 'uruu' were forming one single line of attack during the military offensive

²⁴ Seyfeddin Ahsikendi, "Majmu at-tavarih", pp. 294-296; also see Anvarbek Mokeev, *Kyrgyzy na Altaye i na Tyan-Shane*, p. 122.

²⁵ Ya. R. Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav", pp. 136-181.

²⁶ S. M. Abramzon "Etnicheskiĭ", pp. 3-92.

²⁷ For example see S. Attokurov, *Kyrgyz Sanjyrasy*, Bishkek 1995; Musaly İmanaliev, *Kyrgyz Sanjyrasy*, Bishkek 1995.

²⁸ See Turdubaı Umar uulu, *Kyrgyz sanjyrasy*, Bishkek 1991, front cover of book and p. 1.

²⁹ 'Manastap uraan salgany / Manas Manas dep aıt' (see Sagynbaı Orozbekov, *Manas*, I-Kitep, Bishkek 1995, lines: 5133-5134).

and were screaming their 'uraan' as a call for an advanced battle³⁰. From the above, we can also find some extremely important ideas on what Kyrgyz identity is all about. It becomes abundantly clear to us when the below-given terminology is being used, such as: 'uruu' means 'clan'; 'uruk' means 'ancestry' and 'roots', 'mamleket' means 'statehood' and 'ulut' stands for 'nation'. In addition, it is very important for Kyrgyz people to preserve the moral values and remember their ancestor tradition.

It is also quite important to mention that for Kyrgyz people 'uruus' (clans) and 'uruks' (sub-clans) play a big role not only in their social and administrative structure but also in their ethnic identification. Whilst, at the same time, the clans or sub-clans also have been playing a very important role in the whole region of Central Asia. Unfortunately, we do not have enough documented and written information about them. Nevertheless, it is possible to find new information in an oral format that is related to this particular subject.

In this regard, as many of the informants from the our project, called 'Living History of the Central Asian People: The Case of Kyrgyzstan'³¹, occasionally emphasized, they have very large amounts of information on clans and kinship networks. It is very interesting how some of the informants interpreted the word 'uruu' to mean not only 'a clan' but also 'a nation', in some cases. For instance: 'Kyrgyz uruusu' or 'Kyrgyz nation'³², 'Kazakh uruusu' or 'Kazakh Nation'³³. In a historical perspective, from the sources we can not say exactly whether the meaning of 'uruu' (clan) was used as a term 'nation'. In this respect, though, we can add the following information: we know that the term 'ulut' in the Kyrgyz language means the term 'ulus' in Turkish language. And during the Ottoman Empire the

³⁰ In this connection, the 'uraan' of the Basyz uruu among the Kyrgyz *uruus* is Akbuura, which means White Camel. Besides, the 'uraan' of the Bagysh uruu is known as Jankoroz, who is the ancestor of the Bagysh uruu, according to the *sanjyra* (genealogy) of the 'uru' (see S. Attokurov, *Kyrgyz Sanjyrasy*, p. 60).

³¹ This project is based on oral history sources which have and still are being gathered from people whose ages are above 70 years old. The research on the subject of Kyrgyz identity was previously conducted with scholars such as: Hisao Komatsu, İlhan Şahin, Timur Dadabaev, Muratbek Kojobekov, Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Er-cilasun, Baktybek İsakov, Kaırat Belek, Stambulbek Mambetaliev from Tokyo University, Tsukuba University (Japan) and Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University (Kyrgyzstan).

³² Gülkan Mambetalieva (born in 1924) is from İskira aйл, Kant raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 18, 2007); Nurbübü İbraimkyzy (born in 1920) is from Tarsuu aйл, Chong Kemin (Interview on Agust 7, 2008). During the interview, when they were asked which uruu they were from they answered the 'Kyrgyz uruu'.

³³ For Kazybek Küsermambetov, see 18.

term ‘ulus’ was used in order to refer to the biggest nomadic groups, such as Bozulus, Karaulus and others³⁴. Here, it is possible to say that ‘Kyrgyz uruu’, which was mentioned in oral sources, means not only ‘Kyrgyz nation’ but also combines all of the Kyrgyz ‘uruus’ (clans) in the meaning of ‘chong uruu’ (the biggest clan)³⁵.

Another side of our research shows us that in Kyrgyz society creation of ‘uruu’ (clan) or ‘uruk’ (sub-clan) is very important. In the creation of a ‘uruu’ and ‘uruk’ it is also worth mentioning that they were counted starting from the generation of only their father’s ancestry, which was called ‘uruk’, literally meaning a generation that was born out of a father’s *tukum* (semen)³⁶. The same situation may also be seen in some other cases in present-day Kyrgyzstan. For this reason, the males who are inside of ‘uruk’ were looked upon as one seed of wheat or barley and compared to male semen which brings up a new generation.

The creation and continuation of a ‘sanjyra’ (genealogy) in a ‘uruu’ (clan) or ‘uruk’ (sub-clan) was based upon the healthy birth of male children. As a matter of fact, as an example of such we can talk about an uruk called Shapak in the area adjacent to Lake Isyk-Köl. To have a son in the family unit is very important for them but the youngest son in such a family is considered to be the most valuable one. The reason for it is that all other children of the family, including elder sons, leave the family circle after marriage but the youngest son remains in it forever. Therefore, the destiny of the youngest son, and not the daughter, is to continue the father’s line of ancestry. So, at ‘Shapak uruk’ (the sub-clan of Shapak) we will find that he had two sons: one named Almaz and another Mirlan. Further observation of this *uruk*’s genealogy shows us the mentioning of Almaz but not a single mention of Mirlan. This is because Almaz is younger than Mirlan.

³⁴ İlhan Şahin, “Osmanlı Devrinde Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin İsim Almalarına Dâir Bâzı Mülâhazalar”, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler (Nomads in the Ottoman Empire)*, İstanbul 2006, p. 118

³⁵ In this regard, the statement ‘Ve Kaşgardan beri bir tayfa var. Adına Qırqız derler. Anlar dahi göçer konar tayfadur’ (see Seyfi Çelebi, *L’ouvrage de Seyfi Çelebi: Historien Ottoman du XVI^e Siècle*, édition critique Joseph Matuz, Paris 1968, pp. 84-85), in reference to the Kyrgyz community, is contained in an Ottoman travel journal from the last quarter of the 16th century. Essentially, ‘tayfa’ is an Arabic word and it means ‘uruu’ (clan). No doubt the ‘tayfa’ or ‘taife’ used for the Kyrgyz community in the aforementioned work means Chong uruu or Kyrgyz ulut (nation).

³⁶ For example, Jyldyz Jarty (born in 1971) is from Ton raïon, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 12, 2011), mentions that we are the *tukum* of Aryk, who is the ancestor of the Aryk uruk from the seventh generation belonging to the Bugu uruu. Also, Karagul Raïymbekov (born in 1930) is from Sheker aïyl, Karabuura raïon, Talas oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 8, 2011), states that the name of his uruk is known as Sheker, belonging to the Kytai uruu, and that he descended from his ancestor Sheker.

Also, Mirlan has two daughters and Almaz has two sons, so, it will be the latter's job to continue his family's genealogy³⁷. We can see that the same situation exists in other sub-clan, too.

Genealogy of Jantaï³⁸	Genealogy of Bakachy³⁹	Genealogy of Alapaï⁴⁰
Kalygul	Shamytai	Temirbek
Jusup	Mambetali	Joldosh
Kazakbai	Karabai	Aisabek
Beki	Aldash	Chal
Ömurbek	Tatybek	Norozaly
Belek	Jemansart	Jantöböt
Tilkü	Azar	<i>Alapaï</i>
Kalpak	Kudayar	Tülöberdi
Talpak	<i>Shaïbek (Bakachy)</i>	-
Atabai	Bektemish	-
Börüchek	-	-
Sary	-	-
<i>Jantaï</i>	-	-

The Genealogy of the Jantaï, Bakachy and Alapaï sub-clans

It is also worth mentioning that in Kyrgyz tradition everyone and, especially, males should know at least their ancestors' names going back seven generations. For instance, if we ask a question from the members of Jantaï uruk belongs to Sarybagysh clan, - they can count their ancestors starting from their fathers and going back seven generations or even more. In this sub-clan, we can see their ancestor named Jantaï who gave his name to this uruk. The members of this uruk can count their ancestors all the way to the 13th generation⁴¹.

Also, we can provide another example from the sub-clan called Bakachy that belongs to the clan of Sayak. The members of this sub-clan can count their ancestry beginning from their fathers and going back to the 9th generation. In this sub-clan, we can see their ancestor Shaïbek (Bakachy), who gave his name to this uruk⁴². Another example is related

³⁷ See the article "Formation Process of Eurasian Nomadic Groups, Based on Oral History: The Kyrgyz Nomads' Example", in the fourth article ahead.

³⁸ Kalygul Jusupov (born in 1935) is from Karataï aïyl, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 1, 2007).

³⁹ Shamytai Mambetaliev (born in 1934) is from Örnök aïyl, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2008).

⁴⁰ Temirbek Joldoshev (born in 1936) is from Belogorka aïyl, Sokoluk raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 4, 2007).

⁴¹ Kalygul Jusupov, see note 38.

⁴² Shamytai Mambetaliev, see note 39. Shaïbek was the person's real name and Bakachy was his nickname. Mambetaliev explained the story of how Shaïbek got the nickname Bakachy this way: "one day at noon prayer time Shaïbek took out the belt

to the sub-clan called Alapaï, which also belongs to a clan called Solto clan. The members of Alapaï uruk can count their ancestry starting from their fathers and going back to the 7th generation, which was called Alapaï. Alapaï, his father is Tülöbördi, gave his name to this uruk⁴³.

In this connection, I would like to make a point. It should not be supposed that only elder members in a family know this genealogy. When we interviewed Kalygul Jusupov, a member of Jantaï sub-clan, aged 72 years, he forgot one of the ancestor's names in his genealogy. His son reminded him of his ancestor's name in the line. It shows that to know the genealogical line in Kyrgyz society is still alive.

If the father has more than one son and they have their own sons they, themselves, can create their own another line of genealogy of uruk. So, from time to time, from one father could be created more than one uruk, but all of them will still belong to only one uruu. For example, Shaïbek (Bakachy), who created his own uruk called Bakachy, had two sons, Kudayar and Kochosh. Also, Kochosh had created his own uruk called Bakachy.

In the Kyrgyz community, in the formation of an 'uruk' going back to a seventh forefather or basing the 'uruk' on a seventh forefather has a very important role. In other words - although sometimes different situations may arise - '*bir atanyñ baldary*' (a father's children) group that has at least seven forefathers in its ancestry forms an 'uruk' over time. Most of the time the uruk is known by the name of the concerned forefather. In this regard, it is important to know and count the names of one's seven forefathers. Because the Kyrgyz society has a patriarchal family structure, those who enter into this structure are considered on the basis of 'baba'. In this regard, 'ata' means father, 'chong ata' means grandfather, 'baba' means greatgrandfather, 'kuba' means great greatgrandfather whose father is known as 'buba'. 'Joto' is *buba's* father and the furthest father is 'jete'. These are counted from generation to generation. Knowing or counting these forefathers is considered among the people to reflect a person's knowledge of his identity and an assertion of it. Here it is worth noting the use of 'jete' to mean the seventh forefather. This term comes from the Kyrgyz number 'jeti' (seven). In this regard, there are proverbs in the minds of the populace regarding 'jete' and they are passed down from gen-

on his waist. There was a purse tied to the belt. At this time, Shaïbek's friends secretly puta frog, known as 'baka' in the Kyrgyz language, into the purse. The friends asked Shaïbek to go to lunch with them but Shaïbek insisted that they go to prayers. At this, the friends said about Shaïbek 'he can't go to prayers because he's carry food with him and the food is a baka (frog). If you don't believe it let's look in his purse. So they all looked into the purse and saw a frog in it. From that day forward Shaïbek started to be known by the name Bakachy and the uruk's name became 'Bakachy'. “

⁴³ Temirbek Joldoshev, see note 40.

eration to generation: '*Jeti atasyn bilbegen jetesiz*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers is worthless) and '*Jeti atasyn bilbegen kul*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers is a slave).

It should be pointed out that the seven forefathers concept is not found only in Kyrgyz society. It also has an important place in the Kazakh community. In this regard, the proverb '*Jeti atasyn bilmegen-jetesiz*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers is fatherless) is quite widespread and famous. Additionally, in connection with the seven forefathers in the Kazakh community, this quatrain is essentially used in this context:

Jeti atasyn bilgen ul	he who knows his seven forefathers
Jeti jurttyñ kamyn jer	carries the burden of seven motherlands
Özin gana bilgen ul	he who doesn't know anyone besides himself
Kulagy men jagyn jer	eats the ear and the jaw ⁴⁴

This situation is important from the standpoint of showing the unity of understanding and thought between communities that have the same cultural values.

These phrases have a negative meaning pertaining to someone who does not know his seven ancestors and who has 'no roots'. Sometimes those people could be the targets of certain insulting words like: 'Are you not Kyrgyz?' In this connection, we can indicate two situations. One of them is that if a male belongs to one 'uruk' or 'uruu' it is impossible for him to get married to a daughter of anyone who is a part of the same uruu or uruk unless the latter is a representative of more than the seventh generation. The most important reason for it is that they thought that if you marry someone who is less than seven generations, then there could be a mixture of blood. But if you marry somebody who represents more than seven generations, then there will not be such a mixture of blood. Specifically, we can find this situation in rural areas. The second reason for it is that when a girl after marriage enters the family of her husband or his uruk, she loses any connection to her own father's line of genealogy. As far as we know, there is an old Kyrgyz proverb that relates to this subject and which states: '*Chykan kyz, chiiden tyshkary*' (A married girl has no say in her old family).

⁴⁴ Here it is necessary to explain the statement 'eats the ear and jaw' a bit more. There are two ideas about this statement. 1) In the Kazakh tradition (and Kyrgyz, as well), the head, ears and jaw of the sheep that is cut for guests is offered to the most distinguished of the guests at the table. Consequently, the head, ear and jaw are the valued guest's share and he owns them. If someone doesn't know his relative ties and if he doesn't have any social relations with anyone, then he sits and eats the head, ear and jaw of the cut sheep himself. He is a very common person who doesn't have anyone calling him, asking about him and who has no friends. 2) Someone who doesn't listen or speak or, in other words, a dense person who doesn't speak well. The first of these two ideas is the one that is generally accepted as correct.

As far as it is understood from our interviews, which we made with Kyrgyz people, to live in an 'uruk' was considered to be extremely useful for a very simple reason. Out of many things the most important one was to live together in one uruk because it always helped during difficult times and, especially, in the cases when everybody needed to help each other. That is, in case you are being attacked by an enemy force, -you can be protected by your own people who live together with you in the same and one 'uruk'. Especially, being a nomadic nation and moving from summer pastures to winter locations-you can survive such a transformation only if you are a part of one 'uruk'.

As a proof of such, there is one old story in Kyrgyz tradition that emphasizes the importance of being and living together. It sounds as follows:

An elderly man had nine sons and they were constantly fighting with each other. Seeing such an animosity towards each other, their father decided to go to the mountains one day and brought nine heavy wooden sticks from there. Then, he asked his sons to break all of these nine sticks together at one time, but numerous attempts by them to carry out this job yielded no results whatsoever. He asked them to do the same job, but this time trying to break all of these nine sticks one by one. In this case, this job was done without any difficulty. So, having shown this to his sons, the father then explained that when all of you are together-no one can break you, but, when, you are separate it is easy to do so. And, based on this perfect example, he explained to them the advantages of living all together in an 'uruk'⁴⁵.

In this regard, among the Kyrgyz community the proverb '*yntymak bar jerde yrys (yrysky) tögülot*' (where there is solidarity, there is bread for everyone) is quite meaningful. In a world where people have become increasingly individualized, this statement is significant from the standpoint of showing the importance in the Kyrgyz nomad community and, in fact, in many nomadic groups in Central Asia, of living in unity and peaceful coexistence and of surmounting life's difficulties for the future through material and spiritual solidarity. This concept is essentially alive and well in today's Kyrgyz community, as it certainly has been since the old periods of history. Of course, under the conditions of those difficult and warring times, 'yntymak' (solidarity) was the most effective 'survival strategy' for the people and communities. However, this traditional component of the Kyrgyz community should be distinguished from the 'interest groups' that have the characteristics of political forces and lobby groups directed more toward external relations these days. First and foremost, there are important differences between the two formations, from standpoint of their respective goals and social structure. In these formations in the Kyrgyz community it is important to be a member of

⁴⁵ For Kazybek Küsermambetov, see note 18.

the same nomadic group, to reside on the same street or in the same neighborhood and to live in the same village or town. In this regard, this formation in the Kyrgyz community has the characteristic of being focused on 'yntymak' (solidarity), directed mostly toward internal relations.

The genealogy of *uruus* and *uruks* in the Kyrgyz community is tied to a forefather who played an important role in the emergence and formation of either the 'uruu' or 'uruk'. According to the genealogy, there are other forefathers who came along this same line but who are less crucial than the forefather who played the seed role in the formation of an 'uruk'. The concerned uruu's or uruk's encounter one another at a point along this line of forefathers, meeting at a common one. These forefathers generally have a place within the Kyrgyz genealogy. In this regard, Kyrgyz *uruus* (clans), based on their traditional genealogical tree, can go back to the point where they reach the name 'Kyrgyz' or 'Kyrgyz Ata' (Ancestor of Kyrgyz), 'Oguz Han' (Ancestor of Oguz) and 'Türk Ata' (Ancestor of Turks) and so on. For example, on this subject Togolok Moldo, while declaring his Kyrgyz origin, says that the Turkish eighth generation is Oğuz (Uguz) Han and that Oğuz Han's sons were Burut, Burat and Kirgiz and that, therefore, the Kyrgyz came from the Turkish or Oğuz Han generation⁴⁶. Osmonaali Sıdıkov, though, in the genealogical list he gave regarding the Kyrgyz, said that the community's forefathers began with Hz. Adam and continued with Ham, Sam, Yafas and Türk⁴⁷; S. Attokurov's rendition, though, has Hz. Nuh (Noah) at the beginning, followed by his sons Ham-Yafas-Sim and Yafas's son Türk, Elji Han, Alancha Han, Kara Han, Ögüz Han and his sons Kün Han-Deniz Han-Ay Han-Jyldyz Han, Kök Han and, subsequently, Too Han, Kyrgyz, Safar Shaa, Alhan, Rashid and Analah⁴⁸. Although the effect of political, social, administrative and cultural relations over the course of history is seen in these genealogies, the formation of the genealogies within the Oğuz legend is important from the standpoint of showing that the Oğuz legend, which has a place in some Turkish sources in regard

⁴⁶ Talyp Moldo, "Taryh, tüpkü atalar", *Ala-Too*, no. 9, Bishkek 1990, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Osmonaali Sydykov, *Taryh Kyrgyz Shadmaniya: Kyrgyz sanjyrasy*, Ufa 1914, pp. 12-15. This work was written in the Arabic alphabet and published in 1914. It is important from the standpoint of reflecting the genealogy and genealogical tradition that was related from generation to generation orally in the Kyrgyz community, which was living the nomadic life in the beginning of the 20th century. The work was subsequently published in the Cyrillic alphabet (Osmonaali Sydykov, *Taryh Kyrgyz Shadmaniya: Kyrgyz sanjyrasy*, Frunze 1990).

⁴⁸ Related to this kind of genealogical tree, see S. Attokurov, *Kyrgyz Sanjyrasy*, pp. 38-39. In this connection, Kazybek Küsermambetov gives the names of 12 ancestors from Küsermambet up to Dolon Bii and at the end mentions the name of the Turk Ancestor. For Kazybek Küsermambetov, see note 18.

to the idea of the origin and dominance of the Ottomans in Anatolia⁴⁹, is a continuation and reflection of the understanding and traditions in Central Asia.

As far as we know, there are not many more written sources related to Central Asian nomadic people. On the other hand, our presentation is just a small point of view which shows that it is possible to find oral sources that are connected to this subject. Therefore, we need to continue this research in order to not only write about the nomadic life of Central Asian people, but also to write about their social, economic and cultural values that derive from the memory of their history.

⁴⁹ For a study and evaluation made on these legends in Turkish sources, see Aldo Gallotta, "Oğuz Efsanesi ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kökenleri: Bir İnceleme", *Osmanlı Beyliği (1300-1389)*, editor: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, İstanbul 1997, pages 41-61.

Formation Process of Eurasian Nomadic Groups, Based on Oral History: The Kyrgyz Nomads' Example*

In order to assert certain basic views concerning Eurasia, which is in today's world the scene of important political, social and economic activities and changes, and to put forth forward-looking programs, it is necessary to know well and understand the force that shaped Eurasian history. In this regard, one must think about Eurasia together with human history. It appears that the people living in Eurasia about 50,000 years ago began to observe, follow, hunt, capture and domesticate migrating animals and the result was the birth of the 'nomadic' lifestyle. Eurasia is viewed at the first region where nomadism appeared. It is understood that the Eurasian community found ways to move comfortably with the animals, to ride them and to be able to better defend themselves, in parallel with this first domestication of the animals in the course of history. In other words, it may be possible to say that the nomads, by moving far and wide with the animals, started the unification of continents and, consequently, the formation of Eurasia¹.

In order for us to be able to understand the Eurasia whose formation we desire, we must certainly take a general view, rather than looking at isolated or just a few events. Of course, while taking this general view there must be sufficient research related to Eurasia and to the peoples and communities that constitute Eurasia so that the past, the present and the future are not neglected and we then move to the general view. Without such research that builds to the general view, what remains is just writing about the ocean or the desert. In this regard, what we shall do is first choose points of research regarding Eurasia and the peoples or communities that make up Eurasia, delve into them and then, like the rings that forms from a pebble thrown in the water, head toward a general view as the circles spread out.

In the framework of the matters mentioned, the thorough examination and exposition of the formation of the nomadic groups in Eurasia, accepted as the place where nomadism was born, carries great importance. In this regard, we will take up the following subjects: the formation of Kyr-

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¹ For certain important findings and approaches concerning the formation of the nomadic lifestyle in Eurasia, see Masatake Matsubara, "Joron-Yûrashiashino Kouchikuni Mukete" (Japanese), *Yûrashia Sougen Karano Messege: Yûboku Kenkyu no Saizensen*, editors: Masatake Matsubara-Yuki Konagaya-Haiyin Yang, Tokyo 2005, pp. 11-33.

gyz nomadic groups who have preserved the traditional nomadic lifestyle from past to present and who have essentially completed their identities with this lifestyle; the factors playing a role in this formation; using oral history, in particular, the situation will be examined; and where necessary the formation of the aforementioned groups will be compared with the formation of nomadic groups in Anatolia.

Since the focus here will be on the Kyrgyz, we should consider the meaning of the name 'Kyrgyz', before addressing the main issue. In this regard, there are many views concerning the etymology and meaning of the word 'Kyrgyz'.² Noteworthy among these views is the one that explains that similar to the word 'Oğuz', which means 'union of clans' and comes from the combination of 'ok', which means clan or sub-clan, and the plural suffix 'iz', the name Kyrgyz comes from the number 'kırk' (forty), referring to the forty nomadic clans or forty nomadic leaders, and the plural suffix 'iz'.

The historical sources that provide information about the social and administrative structure of the Kyrgyz community explain that this community came from two main groups. This dual structure is understood to reflect the administrative and military characteristics that come from the organization and tradition of the Old Turkic and Mongolian states, since the Huns. In the Kyrgyz community, one of these groups is known as 'On Kanat' and the other as 'Sol Kanat'. This dual structure is seen as the basic trunk of the Kyrgyz community's family tree. Under this dual wing structure there are over 30 large nomadic groups known as 'uruu'.³ The uruu are understood to be the equivalent of the administrative and social structures of nomadic groups known as 'boy' (clan) in Turkish. Each uruu has a special name which is used even today in a living manner in the Kyrgyz community. The uruu come from sub-clans called 'uruk' that also have special names.⁴ We can say that these *uruks* are the equivalent of units like 'cemaat', 'bölük', 'tîr / ok', 'mahalle' and 'oba' used for nomadic groups in Anatolia during Ottoman times.

² For information about these views, see T. Tchorev (Chorotegin), "The Kyrgyz", *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, editors: Charyar Adle and Irfan Habib, Paris 2003, V (2003), p. 109.

³ For the latest study and evaluation made on this subject, see Anvarbek Mokeev, "Dualnaya etnopoliticheskaya organizatsiya kyrgyzov na Tyan-Shane v XVI-seredine XVIII v.", *Tyurkologicheskii Sbornik 2007-2008*, Moskva 2009, pp. 258-272.

⁴ There are noteworthy investigations related to the geographic distribution and ethnic structure of the 'uruu' (clans) and their sub-clans that make up the Kyrgyz community. On this subject, see Ya. R. Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennyi sostav i rasselenie kirgizov na territorii Yuzhnoi Kirgizii", *Trudy kirgizskoi arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii*, I, Moskva 1956, pp. 136-181; S. M. Abramzon, "Etnicheskiy sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya Severnoy Kirgizii", *Trudy kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, IV, Moskva 1960, pp. 3-92.

Although there is not a great deal of documentation and written material concerning the stages and structure of the formation, over the course of history, of the uruu, which forms the Kyrgyz nomadic groups, and the units known as uruk that are tied to the *uruus*, it may be possible to investigate these units' characteristics and to put forth some important views concerning their formation, based on oral culture and historic material obtained on-site. In this regard, is there a role for the family, a community's basic social structure, in the formation of the *uruus* and *uruks* that form the foundation of the Kyrgyz community? How does an uruu or uruk come to be? Under what conditions are *uruus* and *uruks* established? What are the characteristics of *uruus* and *uruks*? If it is possible to answer these and similar questions or put forth various ideas in relation to them, then it may be possible to better understand not just the Kyrgyz community, but peoples and groups that have had the same and similar cultural and civilized values over the course of history.

The people that form the *uruus* or *uruks* are certainly mankind. But it is a fact that just one person within mankind cannot form an uruk by himself. In this regard, for us to be able to understand an uruu and an uruk in the Kyrgyz community it is first necessary to understand well the family and its formation because foremost among the oldest seed units known to mankind is the family. Therefore, the family plays an important role in the formation of *uruus* and *uruks*, the foundation of the Kyrgyz community. The family in the Kyrgyz community has a patriarchal character, putting the father and forefathers at the forefront. In this regard, significant importance is given to a father in a family having many sons. The most important reason for this is that these will be the people who continue the father's line. Additionally, having many sons is a sign of a father's impact and strength in the eyes of the community. A father is tied to the lineage of a forefather and even if he marries more than once which woman the son was born from does not matter-the important thing is the link to the father, the blood tie. The father is the person who unites his children and the one who links them to the father's house and to the forefathers and generations tied to the father. Certainly, a father's children marry and start their own families and this new family is a branch of the family tree line belonging to the father. In other words, when a father's children marry and their children marry the line from the family extends and broadens. To what extent this expansion and growth may go raises a question. It is accepted that this blood tie elongation linked to a father goes back at least to seven forefathers. This 'line formed from the blood tie' is called *uruk*. Uruk is also known with the names *tukum*, meaning broadly those who come from a father's seed, and 'uul', which means son. For this reason, the statement *bir atanyñ baldary*, a father's children, is widely used⁵.

⁵ For the family structure in the Kyrgyz community, see S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kulturnye svyazi*, Frunze 1990, pp. 227-283.

In the Kyrgyz community it is very important for every person to know the names of at least seven forefathers who form the uruk line. The proverb '*Jeti atasyn bilbegen jetesiz*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers is worthless), used in references to those who do not know, is widely used today, indicating the importance of being tied to a forefather and an 'uruk'. Another important characteristic of the seven forefather link is not marrying within this line. Girls from beyond the seven forefathers link, though, can be taken as wives. In this regard, it is always possible to marry with those on the 'ene' (mother) side. In our oral history studies we noted the belief that when girls within the seven forefathers link are taken as wives the blood tie is spoiled and the children born may not be healthy.

In the course of our oral history studies in Kyrgyzstan, it is possible to make certain important findings related to the formation of *uruks* tied to different *uruus*. However, the finding we will now present is one of many examples and concerns the emergence of three *uruks* from the same forefather line over the course of history. We were only able to notice the findings related to these three *uruks* after we completed our work and reviewed our notes, rather than during the study. The uruu to which these three *uruks* are linked is known by the name Bugu. Among the Kyrgyz community the 'bugu' is considered a sacred animal and is a type of animal similar to the 'geyik' (deer) in Turkish. The three *uruks* we will discuss are from many tied to the Bugu uruu and are named Alseyit, Shapak and Temir.

The Alseyit uruk is found in Tüp village of the Tüp raion (district) in Isyk-Köl oblast; the Shapak uruk is found in Shapak village in the north of Tüp and Aksu raions in Isyk-Köl oblast; the Temir uruk is found in Chychkan village of Jedi Ögüz in Isyk-Köl oblast. According to information provided by İmash Sarybagyshev, born in 1927, of the Alseyit uruk who knows well the uruk's lineage⁶, it is understood that Alseyit, who ensured the formation of the uruk, is the 12th forefather of İmash. In this regard, if we consider that in those days a person's lifespan was not very long, then it can be said that the uruk began to be formed about 300 years ago. We can also say that the Shapak uruk, which takes the name of its seventh forefather Shapak, began to emerge about 150-200 years ago. The Shapak uruk is said to be from the seventh forefather Shapak, starting from İmash⁷. The Temir Uruk to which is linked to the Jeldeng uruk, comes from the line of Jeldeng, who was the elder brother of Temir's grandfather Jüdmüş⁸.

⁶ İmash Sarybagyshev (born in 1927) is from Tüp aıyl (village), Tüp raion (district), Isyk-Köl oblast (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 2, 2007).

⁷ Meerim İmash kzy (born in 1977) is from Shapak aıyl, Aksuu raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 17, 2007).

⁸ Kasym İsaev (born in 1938) is from Chychkan aıyl, Jedi Ögüz raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 26, 2008).

Alseyit Uruku	Shapak Uruku	Temir Uruku
İmash	İmash Shaïhidinev	Kasym İsaev
Sarybagysh	Shaïhidin	İsa
Mirzataï	Esenaly	İsabek
Teltaï	Yrys	Usup
Baïmurat	Balbak	<i>Temir</i>
Kudaïnazar	Eshkoco	Botokishi
Bochko	<i>Shapak</i>	Jüdümüş ve <i>Jeldeng</i>
Bektemir	Aldash	Karakozu
Mendebaï	Belek	Tuuma Kashka
Tögölbaï	Jamangul	Alseyit
Ardam	Alseyit	Murzakulu
<i>Alseyit</i>	Myrzakul	Orozbakty
Myrzakulu	Orozbakty	Kyljyr
Orozbakty	Kyljyr	Tagaï
Sarybagysh	Tagaï	—
Tagaï	Ak uul	—

The matter that draws attention in each of the three *uruks* is that the forefathers after Alseyit are, with a few exceptions, the same. The situation shows that after Alseyit's children married they formed their own *uruks*. The *uruks* that were formed come together with Alseyit, even though some names of forefathers before and after Alseyit were lost, and these *uruks* proceed on to the uruu to which their roots belong. In this regard, it is understood that the forefathers prior to Alseyit were Myrzakulu (Myrzakul, Murzakulu) and Orozbakty. It is noteworthy that the Alseyit *uruk*'s forefather before Orozbakty was known by the name Sarybagysh; and the Shapak and Temir *uruk*'s forefather before Alseyit was Chekir. It is said that because the Sarybagysh clan is somewhat bent it is known by the name Kyljyr⁹ and this must be a signal that the lineage related to the three *uruks* comes together with Sarybagysh. We see that Tagaï, the last forefather of the Alseyit and Temir *uruks*, comes together with Tagaï, the second to last forefather of the Shapak uruu. The last forefather of the Shapak *uruk* after Tagaï carries the name Ak uul. This Ak uul is also another name for On Kanat, one of the two wings that make up the Kyrgyz. This situation must be an indication that the Bugu uruu, to which all three *uruks* belong, is tied to the On Kanat.

Looking at this formulative process of *uruus* or *uruks* one should not think that they have a completely homogeneous structure. There may have been prisoners taken in war or raids, there may have been people taken in as blood money for a murdered person, there may have been families that

⁹ Döölötbek Saparaliev (born in 1955) is from Jumgal-Aktalaa raïon, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 6, 2011).

had a dispute with their own uruk and entered into another uruu or uruk instead, there may have been those who married with persons from within or outside an uruu or uruk, because the blood ties were different, and formed their own family and, in fact, may have established their own uruk. Situations like these may be the reasons for heterogeneous family trees in *uruus* or *uruks*.

Here it is necessary to point out an important issue related to female children. The daughter of a father of a given uruk line enters into the family and uruk of her husband when she marries. In this way she is considered to have lost her connection with her father's family tree. Relatedly, the statement '*Chykan kyz, chiiden tyshkary*', which among the Kyrgyz essentially refers to a daughter marrying and becoming a part of another family, is rather famous. Similarly, there is a proverb concerning the children of a daughter who has married and left her forefathers' hearth which is rather striking in its meaning: '*Jeen el bolboit / jelke ton bolboit*'. In this statement, the meaning is that children who are born to a daughter and who are the 'jeen' (niece or nephew) to a maternal uncle and maternal aunt have no ties remaining with the place from which their mother came, from the standpoint of lineage, and the relationship is broken; in other words, a fur coat cannot be made from the skin on the neck of a sheep.

It is possible to say the following concerning the formation of an 'uruk', in the framework of the information. Within the social and administrative structure of an 'uruk', the youngest male child of a father is generally the one who stays at home and keeps the flame burning in the stove, so to speak. This 'tütme' (keeping the stove burning) shows the continuity from generation to generation. In fact, if the youngest male child dies another child ensures this continuity, in which the 'tütün' (smoke) is henceforth stable and permanent, and the homestead becomes open. The other children, besides *the male child who keeps the home fires burning*, get married and establish separate homes. But these '*bir atany baldary*' (a father's children) set up tents around the father's homestead, eat together from the boiling pot in the homestead and act in unison. In other words, the children are included in the homestead from the standpoint of administrative, social and economic relations and they remain tied to the homestead. In this regard, for the children of a father, the homestead serves as their focal point. The homes that the other children set up around the homestead are essentially units that orbit the center. We can compare this to a tree, the center, and its branches and shoots, the children's peripheral homes. These branches and shoots increase over time and expand and such is the way that an 'uruk' (sub-clan) tied to a father emerges in the Kyrgyz community. Some of those we interviewed said that if an 'uruk' tied to a father emerges in this way then it is referred to as '*bir tukum berdi*' (he produced a seed.)

One must not think of the 'uruk' structure among Kyrgyz nomads as a very simple structure. Within this unit's structure there are a great many '*bir atanyñ baldary*' (offspring) groups, moral values and social and cultural networks. Based on information we obtained from some interviewees, sometimes there may be one or more than one 'uruk' that emerge within the 'uruk' structure that provides for the continuation of a father's family tree. In this regard, if a second 'uruk' structure emerges from within a 'uruk' then it is said that '*eki tukum berdi*' (he gave two seeds). However, the formation of this emerging second 'uruk' leaves the impression that it is a small subunit of the larger 'uruk' that will sustain the original homestead but that over time it will itself expand.

In this context, it is understood that the Bakachy 'uruk', which is tied to the Sayak 'uruu' (clan), exhibits this characteristic. This uruk gets its name from the ninth forefather who was known as Shaibek and who gained fame with the name Bakachy. One of Shaibek's sons was Kudayar and the other was Kojosh. Kudayar is known as the person who sustained the Bakachy uruk line in the homestead. Additionally, his big brother Kojosh, who had five children, began to form another uruk line. However, his uruk is also known by the name Bakachy¹⁰. A similar situation is seen in the Kurmankojo and Kuljygach uruks, also tied to the Sayak uruu. Kuljygach, the brother of Kurmankojo, the seventh forefather who founded the Kurmankojo uruk, formed an uruk that bears his name and, in this way, yet another seed emerged from the uruk¹¹. In this regard, it is worth noting other *uruks* that came from within the Kyrbash uruk, also tied to the Sayak uruu. Kyrbash uruk takes its name from the eighth forefather Kyrbash, who had six sons. Over time, each of Kyrbash's sons formed a separate uruk¹².

In such cases, '*eki tukum berdi*' (he gave two seeds) is said in reference to the *uruks*. In any event, in order for someone to be within the uruk line to which the father is a member or to form an uruk, they must be sons. It may be possible to give a related example, as observed in the Shapak uruk of the Bugu uruu. Imash of the Shapak uruk has two sons named Almaz and Mirlan. Almaz is the younger of the two and he has two sons. In this regard, Almaz remains in his father's home to keep the stove burning. Conversely, Mirlan has two daughters. Since they will marry and enter a different uruk, when Mirlan dies it would appear impossible for his line to continue.

¹⁰ Shamytaï Mambetaliev (born in 1934) is from Örnök aýl, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2008).

¹¹ Shaïloobek Musakojoev (born in 1937) is from Musakojoev aýl, Jumgal raïon, Naryn oblast (Interview on February 25, 2008).

¹² Abden Kuramaev (born in 1965) is from Suusamyr aýl, Jaïyl raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 29, 2013).

As can be understood from this information, in the Kyrgyz community a father's sons, called 'baldar', play an important role. As each child marries and establishes a home and an uruk he becomes the real head of the home or uruk. In the Radloff variant of the Manas legend, which reflects the memory of the Turkic people and particularly of the Kyrgyz for us, there is a couplet related to this characteristic of the Kyrgyz:

Suu bashynda üi bar / there is a home at the head of every stream
Üi bashynda bü bar / there is a man at the head of every home¹³

It would be very appropriate to compare the formation process of *uruks* in the Kyrgyz community with nomadic groups in Anatolia. In this regard, we can take as an example the Yağcı Bedir Yörüks, famous for carpet weaving in Western Anatolia. In the Tahrir Defteri (written survey of a province) of 1530, which was prepared with the aim of determining taxpayers in Ottoman times, the Yağcı Bedir Yörüks are shown to have 11 taxpaying homes. If we consider that there were approximately five people in each home, then we can say that there were around 55 people in this nomadic group at this time. When these 11 homes are examined, it is noteworthy that Kulfâl is the name of the father of three home owning brothers, Eymir is the name of the father of two home owning brothers, and Elvan is the name of the father of two homeowners. In other words, it is understood that out of 11 homes, seven homes have a close relative relationship with each other. The remaining four homes no doubt have a relationship like a maternal uncle, paternal uncle or cousins, which is not reflected in the records¹⁴. This situation is important from the standpoint of showing that the aforementioned nomadic group has a characteristic similar to the Kyrgyz nomadic group formation. To see whether this is the case, it is necessary to look inside the joint cultural and civilization values of the Central Asian nomads and the nomadic groups known by the names Türkmen or Yörük in Anatolia.

In the framework of the subjects addressed above, it is noteworthy that the structure of the Kyrgyz community starts with the *family*, which is tied first to the *uruk*, then to the *uruu*, then to the *kanat* and finally to the *Kyrgyz nation*. This situation is important from the standpoint of showing us that the Kyrgyz identity is multi-layered, rather than singular, and this identity is completed by the nomadic lifestyle. Abandoning the nomadic

¹³ Naciye Yıldız, *Manas Destanı (W. Radloff) ve Kırgız Kültürü ile ilgili Tespit ve Tahliller*, Ankara 1995, p. 617, couplet 719-720. However, as the text was transcribed into the Latin alphabet the Kyrgyz word 'suu' was rendered as 'su' and the word 'bü' rendered as 'bü'; in putting this into simple Turkish, the equivalent of 'bü' was given as 'kısarak' (mare), a horse. Yet in Kyrgyz 'bü' is not the equivalent of 'kısarak', 'bee' is.

¹⁴ On this subject, see Hikari Egawa-İlhan Şahin, *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı: Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri*, İstanbul 2007, pp. 49-51.

lifestyle or moving to settled life is considered tantamount to losing one's identity. When one gives up the nomadic life or settles down, one is no longer Kyrgyz nor Kazakh and the nomadic identity has been lost. This should be thought of as the nomads' philosophy. A layered identity structure similar to this is seen in the nomadic groups known as Türkmen or Yörük in Anatolia. Their layered identity starts with the *family*, then moves to a structure known as either *cemaat*, *bölük*, *mahalle* or *oba*, then to a *boy* (clan) and finally to either Türkmen or Yörük, from which it extends to the *devlet* (state), where the administration is found. If this totally linked structure is not considered then mistaken evaluations and assessments are unavoidable.

Baïbiche and Tokol in the Kyrgyz Community*

Introduction

In the Kyrgyz community the term used for relatives in the broadest sense is *'tuugandyk'*. As understood from the statements *'Kyrgyz-Kazakh bir tuugan'* (Kyrgyz-Kazakh are relatives) or *'atalash bir tuugan'* (siblings from the same father), it is used in both a broad sense and a narrow one. In this regard, if *'tuugandyk'* is compared to the body of a plane tree in the Kyrgyz community, then the terms related to relatives, just like this tree's branches, twigs and leaves, display a richness and variety. Among these terms, one notes that the sides of the *'ata'* (father), *'ene'* (mother), *'küïöö'* (bridegroom) and *'kelin'* (bride) play the most important roles¹. In this regard, research into the terms for relatives in the Kyrgyz community has shown the number of terms is over 60². This situation reflects how rich the Kyrgyz community is in terms of terms for relatives.

Other than terms for relatives, there is also an important place in the Kyrgyz community for terms and titles that express one's place, respect and status within the community or the family for certain people. In this regard, terms like *'baatyr'*, *'aksakal'*, *'baï'*, *'er'* and *'jigit'* are titles given to people who have stood out in the community because of their skills or talents. Among these terms, *'baatyr'* is a title won by both men and women. The others are bestowed upon men or won by them. In the Kyrgyz community, the term *'ayal'* is used for married women but there are other titles that express the place and status of women in the family and community.

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¹ S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kulturnye svyazi*, Frunze 1990, pp. 229-233. For the Kyrgyz translation of this work, see S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan taryhy boyuncha tandalma emgekter*, Bishkek 1999.

² See Ç. R. İsrailova-Harehuzen, *Traditsionnoe obshchestvo kyrgyzov v period russkoï kolonizatsii vo vtoroy polovine XIX- nachale XX v. i sistema ikh rodstva*, Bishkek 1999, pp. 160-165. Since this study was conducted with its concentration primarily on Talas region, it is certain that the number will increase as research and studies are made on-site in Kyrgyzstan's various regions.

Two of these are 'baïbiche' and 'tokol'. In this regard, here we would like to focus on the terms 'baïbiche' and 'tokol' and the place and status in a family and the community of women who get these titles.

Baïbiche and Tokol Terms

First let us try to reveal the etymology of the term 'baïbiche'. It is made up of two words, the first of which is 'baï', the other 'biche'. 'Baï' is found in Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century and means rich³. It is worth noting that in Kyrgyz, as well, the word means rich. 'Baï' is also used in Anatolian Turkish to mean rich, too. The word is found in Turkish texts from the Ottoman period and means rich or well-off. In archival documents 'baï' is found most often together with the words 'yohsul' or 'yoksul'⁴. This situation clearly signals that in the Ottoman period 'baï' was used in its Old Turkic meaning.

It has been determined that the word 'biche' in 'baïbiche' is found in various Turkic dialects as 'biïke', 'biïche', 'biïkech', 'biïkesh'. All of these words essentially use the root word 'biï' and add the suffixes '-ka, -ke', '-ça, -çe', '-kaç, -keç'. It is posited that these suffixes reflect a diminutive suffix that conveys love and are used for girls and women⁵. In this regard, in the Kyrgyz community young girls are addressed as 'biïkech', which conveys respect and love, showing that the two uses are close to true.

It is noteworthy that in the Kyrgyz community the word 'baïbiche' has a number of meanings and is generally used to denote the first wife of a man who has more than one, the woman who directs the internal household and elderly women. The word 'baïbichelik' is used to mean the period a woman has lived as a 'baïbiche' and to mean a capricious, spoiled and conceited *baïbiche*'s⁶.

When it comes to the word 'tokol', it has been determined that the word is used in many places in the Kyrgyz community. But the word has

³ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 2010, Dictionary-Index, p. 127, see 'bay'

⁴ For example, in this context a statement in the Yeniil Kanunnamesi, dated 1583 (991), is given as '... Zülkadriye ve Haleb Yörüklerinin üzerlerine koru rüsûmundan gayrı resm-i yaylak adına bay ve yohsul koyunlu ve koyunsuz denilmeyüb defer-i sâbıkda hânedan hâneye otuz üçer akçe vaz' olunmakla...' (Ömer Lûtfî Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*, I. Cilt Kanunlar, İstanbul 1945, p. 81). Additionally, see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Index, p. 417, 'bay'. In Kyrgyz, the equivalent of 'yohsul' or 'yoksul' is the word 'kedeï'. 'Kedeï' comes from the Persian 'geda'.

⁵ On this subject see E. V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskii Slovar Tyurkskikh Yazykov*, Moskva 1978, pp. 134-135.

⁶ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, Frunze-Moskva 1965, pp. 94-95; *Kyrgyz Tilinin Sözdüğü*, editor: A. Akmatalliev, I, Bishkek 2011, p. 190.

just about the same meaning wherever it is used. ‘Tokol’ first of all, is used for the wives who come after the first one in a family with a number of wives. Besides this, it is used to refer to helpless women who have no power, support or say. Additionally, ‘tokol’ is used in such phrases as ‘tokol echki’ and ‘tokol uı’, to mean a goat and a cow with no horn, ‘tokol jy-gach’, for trees that have no branches, no buds and no fruit, ‘tokol at’, for horses that have no tail and mane, and ‘tokol buudaı’, for awnless wheat. In addition, the plain, topless and pointless versions of the traditionally revered and decorated headware worn by women and known by the name ‘elechek’, are called ‘tokol elechek’; ‘tokolduu’ is used for men who have two or more wives, and ‘tokolduk’ refers to the work and duties of women⁷.

Emergence and Formation of Baïbiche and Tokol

It is very difficult to determine when the titles ‘baïbiche’ and ‘tokol’, used for women in the Kyrgyz community, emerged. Nevertheless, these titles are widely encountered in legends of the Kyrgyz community and in oral history. The fact that these titles exist in a living way in the collective memory of the community should be accepted as an indication that they have been used since long ago. In this regard, both titles are frequently seen in the famous Manas legend. For example, in the Manas legend’s introductory section, when father Jakyp gets news of Manas’s birth he comes home and we can give as evidence the statements in the lines related to him taking Manas in his arms and loving him. These statements, at a minimum, are helpful in determining the place of ‘baïbiche’ and the second wife ‘tokol’ in the family and in the community⁸.

Balasyn alyp bolukshup
 Baïbichesı tolukshup
 Olturgan eken üündö
 Baı Jakyp shondo kep aıtat
 Bakdöölötkö bek aıtat
 Baïbichenin balasyn
 Alyp kelchi dep aıtat

The important issues that attract attention on this subject in these lines of the legend are these: father Jakyp gets news of Manas’s birth, comes home and takes Manas lovingly in his arms. ‘Baïbiche’ sees this, is pleased and very fortunate. This woman with the title ‘baïbiche’ is Jakyp’s first wife and her name is Chyırdy. But in these lines she is referred to by the title ‘baïbiche’, not by her name Chyırdy. This situation must indicate the

⁷ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiı slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, II, Frunze-Moskva 1965, p. 244; *Kirgız Tilinin Sözdüğü*, editor: A. Akmataliev, II, Bishkek 2011, p. 563.

⁸ Sagynbaı Orozbekov, *Manas*, I-Kitep, Bishkek 1995, p. 149, couplets: 2050-2056.

respect felt for Chyïrды. Jakyp's second wife's name is Bakdöölöt. Jakyp addresses his second wife with only her name. This second wife is a member of the family known by the title 'tokol'. These forms of address are important from the standpoint of showing their hierarchy in the family and the degree of respect shown toward them. Another matter that should be underlined here is that Manas came into the world from the 'baïbiche' woman, rather than from the 'tokol' woman. This situation should be accepted as an indication that not just the 'baïbiche' but the children of the 'baïbiche' are in the forefront within the family and the community and are held there.



Depiction of the news of Manas Baatyr's birth⁹

An issue that must be addressed here is that of a man being married to more than one wife, as with the 'baïbiche' and 'tokol' in the Kyrgyz family and community. This type of marriage is known as polygamy in scientific literature¹⁰. Of course, one must look to see whether or not there are traces of such a tradition in those of the Old Turkic family. In this regard, it is understood from the statements on ancient Turkic runic inscriptions that there was such a tradition in Turkic clans. Relatedly, on a monument in the name of Kül Tigin it is written: '...ögüm katun: ulayu: ögelerim: ekelerim: kelinünüm: kuunçuyarım: bunça yeme: tirigi: kün boltaçı: erti: ...' (/if there had been no Kül Tigin / my mother Hatun and my /other/ mothers, sisters, princesses, so many others alive would have been concubines ...)¹¹. The word 'ögelerim' in the statement indicates that Kül Tigin's

⁹ See Sayakbaï Karalaev, *Manas-baatyrdyk epos*, Bishkek 2010, p. 67.

¹⁰ 'Polygamy' comes from the Greek words 'polys' (many) and 'gamos' (marriage) and can mean many husbands or many wives. Generally, though, it is used to refer to many wives and it is used thusly in this paper.

¹¹ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, pp. 38-39 (KT D10).

father Bilge Kağan had more than one wife. Consequently, this and similar examples serve as old evidence of the polygamy tradition among the Kyrgyz.

Important material concerning polygamy in the Kyrgyz community can be found in the family trees of the *uruus* and *uruks*. From these family trees it is understood that polygamy had become essentially a tradition among the leaders of the *uruus* and *uruks*. According to the principle of 'uruu' and 'uruk', sons tried to build up each Kyrgyz line by increasing the number and effect of the line and clan. When girls married, this broadened a father's or a clan's circle of relationships. As is understood from the proverbs 'Bölüngöndü börü ceit' (the wolf eats the divided) or 'bölüngen mülk paıda alyp kelbeyt' (no good comes from divided property), the Kyrgyz community always thought that breaking up families and distributing property would bring no benefit. That is why a non-childbearing woman in a family would be an important reason for her husband to marry again. Additionally, another reason for a man to marry again would be the aging of his first wife and the need for fresh strength in the household. Beyond these, there were those who would have more than one wife just to show off. Links to the view and understanding of Islam with regard to this practice ought not to be overly sought out¹².

It should be noted that the polygamy tradition among the Kyrgyz is not proportionate in all sections of society. In this regard, statistical information concerning Namangan province (uyez) in 1913 provided interesting results. According to this information, there were 7,452 'tütün' (homes) in Namangan province and of these homes 363 had two women, while the number with three women was 19. This situation shows that the percentage of men married to more than one woman was 5.12%. However, when families were assessed based on their property, a very different picture emerged. Those with much property, the 'baı' (rich) individuals, had a higher percentage vis-a-vis polygamy. Conversely, polygamy was very rare among families with little property¹³. The reason for this rarity is understood to have been the important role played by the bride price, called 'kalyn', given by the groom's side to the girl's side¹⁴.

These situations show that polygamy in the Kyrgyz family and community was not confined only to the 'uruu' or 'uruk' leaders (like *biı*

¹² S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi i ikh etnogeneticheskoe*, pp. 257, 270-271; S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyzy jana Kyrgyzstan*, pp. 169, 178; Amantur Akmatoliev, *Kyrgyzdyn köönörbös döölöttörü*, Bishkek 2000, pp. 132-133.

¹³ S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi i ikh etnogeneticheskoe*, p. 272; S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan*, p. 179.

¹⁴ P. Kushner (Knyshev), *Gornaya Kirgiziya* (Sotsiologicheskaya razvedka), Moskva 1929, p. 69.

and *manap*), but that 'baï' (the wealthy) practiced it, as well. This situation can be better understood from the research conducted on the Kyrgyz family's social and economic structure by N. H. Kalemin in the 1920s and his findings based on oral history. According to his conclusions, the Janybekov family, a member of the Baky tarmag (branch), tied to the Ulugir uruk and the Monoldor uruu, had 2,000 koï (sheep), 600 bee (horses), 60 uï (cattle) and 30 töö (camel), making it a rich family. In this regard, Janybek had four women known as 'ayal'. The home consisted of three generations and 6 servants, for a total household of 48 people. Tynaï, a member of the Kuu-Söök tarmag (branch), tied to the Baganak uruk and the Monoldor uruu, similarly also had four wives¹⁵. Situations like this cannot help but lead one to the conclusion that the title of 'baïbiche' would be given to the 'baï' (wealthy) person's first wife, meaning his favorite or princess.

In the Kyrgyz community, generally the first marriage was with a girl the family deemed suitable. Having multiple wives after one became a 'baï' was an important indication that a person had in fact become a 'baï' in the view of the community. In this regard, there is a famous Kyrgyz proverb: '*Kyrgyz baïysa katyn alat, Özbek baïysa tam salat*' (When a Kyrgyz gets rich he takes a wife, when an Özbek gets rich he builds a house). Nevertheless, when a 'baï' takes a second or third wife, the first wife must be agreeable to this. The first wife is pleased with these additional marriages because she achieves the position of 'baïbiche'¹⁶ and because her status rises within the family and the community. In fact, the first wife plays an important role in the selection of the second and third wives. When the second wife comes to the house the first wife, who has become the 'baïbiche', is seen in the family and the community as a respected, experienced person whose word is valued and who lives an exemplary life, with a good family line.

Baïbiche and Tokol in an Representative Nomadic Kyrgyz Family

One of the most important characteristics of nomadic families is that daily chores are carried out in an organized and programmed manner, much like the workings of a clock. Each member of the family knows what they must do each day. In this regard, household chores and sometimes jobs related to the animals are done by the women, girls and brides in the house. This is the way things work in the nomadic Kyrgyz community, where household chores are handled by the women in the house. However, if there is a 'baïbiche' and a 'tokol' in the house then the situation changes and the direction of internal household affairs is taken up by the

¹⁵ S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizı i ikh etnogeneticheskie*, pp. 256-257, S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan*, p. 169

¹⁶ S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgizı i ikh etnogeneticheskie*, p. 259.

‘baibiche’. The ‘baibiche’ parcels out jobs to be done each day to the *tokols*, the girls and the brides, checks to see if the jobs are done on time, and praises them when called for¹⁷.

The place and importance of ‘baibiche’ and ‘tokol’ in connection with daily chores in a Kyrgyz family, can be better understood from the findings about 64 year-old Toktonazar and his family, who lived in Akmoyn winter quarters in two *aïyls* in the Sharkyratma ‘bolush’ (province). N. H. Kalemin made these findings about Toktonazar based on oral history. These findings are important from the standpoint of revealing the large partriarchal family’s social and economic structure and internal family relations in the period before collectivization in the mountainous regions of Kyrgyzstan¹⁸.

According to Kalemin’s findings, Toktonazar was tied to the Cholok -Tuuma tarmag (branch) of the Bugonak uruk and the Monoldor uruu. The Toktonazar family was comprised of 15 people, including Toktonazar himself, his two wives, six sons (İmannazar, İsak, Abdurasul, İmanaly, Japaraly and Junusaly), two girls, three brides and one grandchild. His oldest son İmannazar was 42 and his youngest son Junusaly was 5 years old. İmannazar and his wife and 6 year-old son lived in a separate house. The other sons lived with their father in the same house. The family’s total wealth consisted of 150 sheep, 20 horses, 10 cows and one camel. A certain portion of the animals were officially considered to be the property of the oldest son but these were not separated from the total property. The family earned its income together; food and drink were consumed together

Family head Toktonazar directed all of the family’s economic and household affairs. Among Toktonazar’s important duties was determining the time to migrate to the *yayla* (summer pasture) and when the sheep should be shorn. Additionally, he monitored his children taking the animals out to pasture and bringing them back in the evening. Besides this, he admonished his children to give feed to the animals left behind at home, primarily the riding animals, because they were sick or weak. Toktonazar was the final authority on matters such as buying or selling something, preparing food and marrying off his sons and daughters. In accordance with tradition, the family chief also had the authority to warn and punish all members of the family. No one had the right to confront or talk back to him, for fear of being banished from the family. A son who did not listen to him would be given some animals and exiled from the family. His smart and knowledgeable third son Abdurasul assisted Toktonazar, helped his father with household matters and represented the family with regard to problems

¹⁷ P. Kushner (Knyshev), *Gornaya Kirgiziya*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁸ For these findings of Kalemin, see S. M. Abramzon, *Kirgiz i ikh etnogeneticheskie*, pp. 257-262; S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan*, pp. 169-172.

needing solutions in the community. The other members of the family, including Toktonazar, were not very active in community relations. In this regard, if something needed to be done in relation to ‘patriarchal’ clan traditions, all members of the family would do what Abdurasul said. The eldest son İmannazar was experienced in animal affairs and he attended to all the animals. But since he was the oldest son, he had seniority over the other sons and would, when necessary, participate in solving family problems along with his aged father and Abdurasul. Second son İsak and fourth son İmanaly mostly worked on farming and did male household jobs like preparing wood and grass. Because Japaraly and Junusaly were too little they did not have specific duties.



A ‘baï’ with his ‘baïbiche’ and ‘tokol’ in Alaï region in the 1950’s¹⁹

Toktonazar addressed his first wife in the house as ‘baïbiche’ and this address and behavior could not help but impose a hierarchy and status in the house. The second wife carried the title of ‘tokol’ but she was addressed just by her name. Since the word ‘tokol’ has a degrading and humiliating meaning, the word was used when he was angry with her. Toktonazar was the last word on external relations involving the household but ‘baïbiche’ held sway with regard to managing internal household affairs and ensuring continuity. The second wife, with the title ‘tokol’, had no choice but to accept the *baïbiche*’s authority within the house and was, in fact, the most important helper for the ‘baïbiche’ in the home. Among the duties of the ‘baïbiche’ was educating the girls and brides and teaching them the rules of behavior. In addition, she would instruct the girls and brides on skills related to making string from wool, making cloth and felt and sewing

¹⁹ K. İ. Antipina, *Osobennosti materialnoï kultury i prikladnogo iskusstva yuzhnykh kirgizov*, Frunze 1962, p. 218.

clothes. Besides this, each day the *baïbiche*'s desires and orders to the girls and brides regarding what kind and how much food to prepare in the house were transmitted to the girls and brides via the 'tokol'. In this regard, the 'baïbiche' monitored the household activities throughout the day. Her wishes and orders had to be obeyed. The *baïbiche* would only listen to her husband's words and addressed her husband with the formal form of 'you', as did the other family members. 'Baïbiche' and her husband Toktonazar would retire in the evening before the other family members and get up earlier in the morning. Additionally, 'baïbiche' and her husband would admonish the others about the next day's chores before going to bed in the evening.



A Kyrgyz bride wearing a representative head piece in Kashgar in the 1920's²⁰



A Kyrgyz bride returning from milking a mare in the Suusamyr summer pasture in 2007

In the example of the Toktonazar family, the *baïbiche*'s place and respect is clearly shown during meals. All family members would sit according to the places they had since childhood. According to custom, Toktonazar himself would sit at the 'tör', known as the most respected place at the meal place. On his left, 'baïbiche' took her place. The second wife, known as 'tokol', sat at the head of the stove, the place known as 'ochok'. The pots and pans were placed here, as well. Next to the 'baïbiche', were the girls, then the brides of the sons, according to age. On Toktonazar's right side his sons, from oldest to youngest, took their places. The youngest bride would sit next to the food cauldron. Under the eyes of the 'tokol', she put the food in the cauldron into a large wooden pot. Next, the 'tokol' would distribute the food, generally meat, on to small plates. The best parts of the meat (*ustukan*)

²⁰ C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, Oxford University Press, 1986.

were distributed to those seated, according to their status and seating place. If there were guests for the meal then the arrangement described above would be somewhat disrupted. The guests would be given the place called 'tör'. Nevertheless, the seating arrangement of oldest to youngest would not be changed.

Based on *baïbiche's* desires and orders, *Toktonazar's* brides would together do all the household chores like raise the children, light the stove, bring water, cook food, milk the animals (cows, sheep and horses), spin yarn from wool, make felt, weave cloth, process animal skins, make the beds, sew clothes (except shoes) and put up tents. The brides would sometimes also help in doing the men's work, like looking after the animals and preparing wood. In this regard, a saying widely spoken by prospective mothers-in-law in the Kyrgyz community 'kelin alsam kolum uzarat' (if I get a bride my arm will grow) is an indication that the brides' daily chores in the house are intense and active. Toktonazar's daughters would learn all of the women's work and help their mothers and the brides

Baïbiche and Tokol in the Community

In families with multiple wives, 'baïbiche' is considered the official wife of the husband, in a legal sense. The 'ayal' known as 'tokol' would not be considered an official wife. She would generally be a life partner of the husband and do household chores. But in the household system the 'baïbiche' and 'tokol' would generally have separate homes. In other words, the man of the house would open a house for each 'tokol' but the best of these homes and the one in the center would be where the 'baïbiche' lived. This placement arrangement and the interest shown by the man of the house toward the 'baïbiche' could not help but establish a hierarchy and status system among the women. In other words, even if a new tent (*bozüi*) was set up for each new 'tokol', it was the 'baïbiche' who oversaw the control mechanism for the household from above. In this regard, the 'baïbiche' ensured the organization and direction of the household's daily affairs²¹. This situation shows that they acted like an orchestra maestro in the home. The tokols and girls were responsible for the daily cleaning of the house, food preparation and obtained any necessities for the household. If one remembers the statement in the Kyrgyz community '*Üi bülöo kichine bir mamleket*' (the family is a small state), one understands the importance of home administration in the Turkic meaning of it and the role of the 'baïbiche' in this administration. Of course, it should be said that this status of the 'baïbiche' was reflected on her children.

The *baïbiche* was a respected person not only in her own home. Because polygamy was in general a pillar of the family structure of 'uruu'

²¹ P. Kushner (Knyshev), *Gornaya Kirgiziya*, pp. 69-70.

leaders who emerged with the title ‘manap’ in later times, the concept of ‘baibiche’ was essentially institutionalized in these families. In such families, the tent (bozüi) of the baibiche was set up in the middle of the other tents in an ostentatious way²². In fact, *baibiches* played an important role in greeting and seating guests in tents according to hierarchy not only at meetings of ‘uruu’ members but at inter-uruu meetings, as well. In addition, the ‘baibiche’ had duties regarding the fulfillment of traditional customs like ‘kurjun söktürüü’ and ‘*balany beshige bölöö*’²³.

The status of the *baibiche*’s children in the family and the community was higher than that of the *tokol*’s children. In this regard, when the *baibiche*’s son or daughter married, a girl or boy of a family at the same level would generally be preferred, in a manner consistent with the proverb ‘*tengtengi menen, tezek kaby menen*’²⁴. In the Kyrgyz community, it is nearly impossible for the ‘tokol’ to come to the ‘baibiche’ position while the ‘baibiche’ is alive. Kalygul Oluya (Evliya), who is considered a saint in the Kyrgyz community, compared the *tokol*’s being the ‘baibiche’ in an indirect and sarcastic manner, saying it was like a mountain being a tree, running a mill in a calm place and the peoples’ leader being from a worthless line²⁵.

Too tokoï boloor	Mountain becomes tree
Tokol baibiche boloor	Tokol becomes baibiche
Tegiz jerden tegirmen çurkaar	Mill runs in a calm place
Teksiz jerden biï chygaar	Leader comes from a worthless line

Another statement of Kalygul’s constitutes one more critical example on this subject: ‘*Üï pul boloor, kul biï boloor, kün baibiche boloor*’ (home becomes money, slave becomes leader, and concubine becomes baibiche)²⁶.

Women carrying the title ‘baibiche’ in the Kyrgyz community are those who come to the forefront with their knowledge, good breeding and experience. In fact, there have been those who have represented the people in their region. In this regard, Kurmanjan Datka (1811-1907), who was noteworthy as a representative in the Alaï region of Kyrgyzstan, was known by the title ‘baibiche’. It has been determined that her name was written as Kurbanjan Baibüce Dathah, along with the title Kurmanjan, from a

²² A. P. Smirnov, *Byt i nrvy kirgizov*, St Petersburg 1897, p. 22.

²³ A. Akmatalliev, *Baba Salty, Ene Adebı*, Bishkek 1993, p. 35.

²⁴ A. Akmatalliev, *Kyrgyzdyn köönörbös döölöttörü*, p. 129.

²⁵ A. Akmatalliev, *Kyrgyzdyn köönörbös döölöttörü*, p. 132.

²⁶ A. Akmatalliev, *Kyrgyzdyn köönörbös döölöttörü*, p. 133. Here Akmatalliev talks about a woman known by the title ‘kündösh’. It is understood that ‘kündösh’ is used to refer to women a man has married and lives with in secret, without the knowledge of the baibiche, tokol and community. In this regard, a woman or women known as ‘kündösh’ among the people should not be confused with ‘tokol’.

statement in a letter Kurmanjan Datka wrote to the Turkistan General on 28 February 1897²⁷: '*Turkistan muzâfâtının Bashkorgocu hürmetli cenâb General Gubernator hizmet-güzârlığa Osh uyazyna karashlı Gülshe'de*²⁸ *oturgucu Kurbanjan Baïbüce Dadhah'dan arzname*' (Petition from herself to authorities). The first thing that comes to one's attention here is that the name Kurmanjan is written as Kurbanjan. 'Kurban' is the name of one of Islam's important religious holidays. This situation shows that because Kurmanjan Datka was born on Kurban Bayramı she was given the name Kurbanjan, and that over time her name changed to Kurmanjan in the Kyrgyz pronunciation²⁹.

The title 'Baïbüce' coming after Kurbanjan must be a title that confers respect on Kurmanjan Datka in the eyes of the community. The date of the document, 1897, and the fact that Kurmanjan Datka was 86 years old, indicates that the use of the 'baïbiche' term goes far back. The title 'Dadhah' mentioned in the document is a Persian word meaning a person who wants rights and justice and the Kyrgyz pronunciation changed it to Datka. This title was given mostly as a political gesture to local administrators during the Khokand Khanate period. The fact that Kurmanjan Datka carried the titles 'datka' and 'baïbiche' shows that she was both a person who ensured relations among the administration and people in the Alai region, and who was known and respected among the people³⁰.

It is understood that over time the 'baïbiche' title began to be used in the family and the community for elderly, experienced and respected women. The use of the 'baïbiche' term in this manner indicates that over the course of history it has been adopted by the community. However, after marriage to more than one woman was forbidden in the October 1917 Rev-

²⁷ Tsentralnyĭ Gosudarstvennyĭ Arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistan, fond-Ī-1, op. no 4, delo 179, list 101.

²⁸ Gülche aŷyl, the center of Alay raïon (district) today.

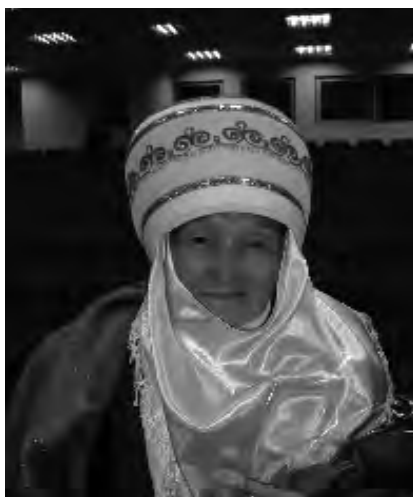
²⁹ For a monographic study about Kurmanjan Datka, see Tursunbaĭ Ömürzakova, *Kurmanjan datka: Door, insan, işmerdüülük*, Bishkek 2002, pp. 23-24.

³⁰ Some scholarly publications and activities were done in Kyrgyzstan in 2011 in celebration of Kurmanjan Datka's 200 hundredth birthday anniversary. For an important monographic study made in connection with her life and activities, see V. Ploskikh-C. Joldoshova, *Kurmandzhan - Alaïskaya tsaritsa: epokha glazami sovremennikov i potomkov*, Bishkek 2011; for the text of an international conference conducted in Bishkek, see *Kurmandjan Datka-Vydayushchiĭsya politicheskii i obshchestvennyiĭ deyatel kyrgyzskogo naroda, Materialy mezhdunarodnoĭ nauchnoĭ konferentsii*, Bishkek 2011; for an anthology that reflects the research and views of Uzbek scholars, see *Alaïskaya tsaritsa v issledovaniyakh uzbekskikh uchenykh (Sbornik nauchnykh issledovaniĭ i stateĭ)*, Tashkent-Bishkek 2011. Besides, a work written in verse about Kurmanjan Datka has also been published (Sooronbaĭ Jusuev, *Kurmanjan Datka, Roman v Stikhakh*, Bishkek 2011).

olution, the use of the term began to lose importance in households with multiple wives. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the title was used in this context up to the 1930s. Today in the Kyrgyz community the 'baibiche' title is used to address husbands' wives, in particular, and by people in the community to refer to elderly women, showing that it is a statement of the love and respect felt toward the 'baibiche'.



Statue of Kurmanjan Datka in Bishkek



'Baibiche', who has a respected place in the Kyrgyz community

A Comparative View

The 'baibiche' and 'tokol' arrangement seen in the Kyrgyz community in marriages based on polygamy, mostly for the leaders class, to mean individuals such as 'bii' and 'manap', and for 'bai' (wealthy man), cannot help but remind one of the arrangement in the 'Palace' (Saray), which was the home of the Ottoman rulers, whose mothers were known by the title Valide Sultan. It is known that the influence of the Valide Sultans started to increase in the Palace as of the end of the 16th century, in particular. The wives of the Ottoman rulers were generally known by the title 'kadın' or 'kadın efendi'. If the ruler married more than once, the woman would assume a title in a manner similar to the title of 'baibiche' given in the Kyrgyz community. This title was 'bashkadın' (first woman / wife) or 'bashkadın efendi' (honored first woman / wife). The other wives, like 'tokol' in the Kyrgyz community, were known by the titles 'ikinci kadın' (second woman / wife), 'üçüncü kadın' (third woman / wife). In this regard, just as in the Kyrgyz community where a separate 'bozüü' (tent) or home is allocated to the 'baibiche' and each 'tokol', private apartments were allocated to the women of the Palace and they were given servants. In the Ottoman Palace, the 'bashkadın efendi' was in a superior position vis-a-

vis the other women. In this manner, the Ottoman rulers observed a marital limit by marrying with four women. However, there were concubines with whom the rulers sometimes had children without a marital agreement. If a 'kadın efendi' died, one of the Sultan's favorites would be elevated to 'kadın efendi' status by the petition of the 'Kızlar Ağası' (chief black eunuch of the imperial harem) and she would be given a 'berat' (title of privilege) and a room. In addition, she would be taught the customs of the Palace by the 'haznedar usta' (second woman supervisor of the harem) and the 'kalfa' (stewards)³¹. The most striking matter which catches one's attention as the result of these comparisons is that this hierarchy and status-setting, as seen among the ruler's women of the Ottoman Palace, is seen, as well, in marriages based on polygamy in the Kyrgyz community. This situation unavoidably raises the question whether this characteristic observed in the Kyrgyz community is a miniature version of that of the Ottoman Palace, or whether the arrangement in the Ottoman Palace was a remnant of the past.

One of the most important and noteworthy subjects concerning the term 'baïbiche' in the first years of the Turkish Republic was the place of the novel entitled *Baïbiche* as one of the literary publications produced in the framework of the 10th year anniversary celebration of the Republic. *Baybiçe* is a 35-page long story/short novel written by Şaziye Berin and published at the İstanbul State Printing Office in 1933³². The novel relates the year 1973, fifty years after the proclamation of the Republic and, in this regard, has that character of a utopian work. In the novel, many invitees, mostly university academicians and students, who are guests of the 80 year-old Baïbiche Hanım at her home on the Bosphorus to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, criticize the old way of life, comment on the elimination of this lifestyle with the coming of the Republic and express their awe of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who led this change³³.

One understands that, at first glance, this novel has no direct relation to the baïbiche who has an important place in the Kyrgyz community. However, there are two points on which there are links to the baïbiche, indirect though they may be. One of these is that the name of the novel and its hero is known as 'Baïbiche'. This cannot have been a coincidental naming. The other point is that in the novel Baïbiche Hanım is understood to be a respected person and, in this regard, the university academicians have gathered in her home. This situation proves that the name Baïbiche was

³¹ Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II*, Ankara 1971, pp. 41-60

³² Şaziye Berin, *Baybiçe*, İstanbul 1933.

³³ On this subject, see Selçuk Çıkla, "Cumhuriyetin Onuncu Yıldönümü Anısına Yapılan Edebi Yayınlar", *Turkish Studies, International Periodical for the Language, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Vol. 1/I, Summer 2006, pp. 54, 57.

known during the early years of the Republic and is an indication that she had a respected place in the eyes of the people.

Conclusion

Over the course of history, foremost among the titles used for women in the Kyrgyz community are 'baibiche' and 'tokol'. The fact that these titles appear within families indicates the important role of marriages based on polygamy. These kinds of marriages are made in the Kyrgyz community mostly by leaders of *uruus* who hold the titles 'biï' and 'manap' and by wealthy people called 'baï'. After such marriages, the first wife is known as 'baibiche' and the second and additional wives are known by the title 'tokol'. The 'baibiche' is considered the husband's official wife and there is almost no chance that a 'tokol' will become the 'baibiche'. In these types of families, traditionally it was the 'baibiche' who ensured internal order in the household and held responsibility for its management. These duties of the 'baibiche' extended to greeting guests at uruu and inter-uruu meetings and ensuring that these guests were seated according to their hierarchy in the tents, called 'bozüï'. Additionally, the 'baibiche' and her children were held in great esteem by the community.

The first-born son of the 'baibiche' took precedence from the standpoint of direction and management and this resulted from the child of the father and the baibiche being considered more noble in the concept of the Kyrgyz family. In addition, the place within the family of the children of the 'baibiche' and the 'tokols' were different with regard to moving into family administration and inheritance shares. Examples of this are seen in the Manas legend, in which Manas Baatyr is the son of a baibiche. Because the 'baibiche' earned respect in the eyes of the Kyrgyz community, over time husbands' wives and elderly women came to be addressed as 'baibiche'. After the October 1917 Revolution when polygamy-based marriage was prohibited, the title 'baibiche', with time, was used as an address for the wives of husbands and for elderly and respected women in the community. This title is widely used even today with this meaning. Conversely, the title 'tokol' has the character of a rather unpleasant title in the community.

The 'baibiche' and 'tokol' arrangement, seen mostly among the 'biï' and 'manap' directing class and in 'baï' (wealthy) families in the Kyrgyz community, may be a miniature version of the arrangement in the Ottoman Palace or it may be based on the past. This is certainly a question that should be studied further.

Comparative Studies

6

Nomads and Globalization: The Example of Central Asian Nomads*

Toward the end of the 20th century, foremost among the concepts that came into use and spread rapidly in the world was the reality of ‘globalization’. However, it is worth noting that the concept did not have a generally accepted definition and was expressed differently for each branch of science. This situation was engendered by the fact that the globalization surrounding the milieu and the world resembled an unseen rather than a visible net. One understands that the interaction between global and local spheres played an important role in the formation of this unseen net. The first steps toward this net began locally and even though the name attributed to it during this historical period was not globalization, important events such as the emergence and spread of religions, migrations and wars that changed the course of history, the establishment of empires that ruled continents, the use of commercial routes like the Silk Road and the discovery of new continents and sea routes shaped its formation and the subsequent ripple-effect spread it like a stone thrown in the water. But a discussion here of the aforementioned steps would go far beyond the limits of this paper. Rather, we will take up the example of ‘nomads’ and put forth views about how the first steps of the nomad began.

Today in the scientific world Eurasia is accepted as the birthplace of nomadism. Research on this subject estimates that humans appeared in Eurasia about 50,000 years ago. During this process men’s interest was mostly focused on learning about and nurturing the nearby environment. In this regard, humans began to establish a close relationship with nature and the animals in the environment. We can think of this as a three-way link between ‘mankind’, ‘nature’ and ‘animals’ but we must not look at it as a global net, which did not exist then, but as a small communications network that man set up within the nearby environment. In the framework of this network, it is surmised that humans had to, first of all, observe nature and the animals and pursue and hunt game in order to survive. The issue that should be emphasized here is that there are, of course, basic differences between men and animals. Humans build a shelter, simple though it may be, wherever they find themselves and here they feel a spiritual connection. They

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do not stray far from this shelter as they try to ensure their lifestyle. Many animals, though, move around from season to season in order to avail themselves of nature to the maximum degree. Over time this movement of animals has become a regular event. And men, in order to maintain their existence, observe and follow the animals. In this way, men discovered new places, gained experience and started to find ways to hunt and capture the animals. This lifestyle continued over a long period for mankind and certainly laid the groundwork for a new way of living. We can appreciate that as men learned about this way of life of the animals, humans' economic dependence on the animals gradually increased and men became accustomed to this lifestyle themselves. We can characterize this new lifestyle of humans as 'nomadism'. In other words, the beginning of nomadism must have been the result of humans' long-term observation of animals¹.

We can say that parallel to the start the nomadic lifestyle a new and interesting reality began to take shape: this reality is the domestication of animal herds achieved by the experience gained from following untamed animals. The primary animals domesticated in the nomadic community in Eurasia were sheep, goats, cows, horses, camels, yaks and reindeer. The most notable aspect of this is that all of the aforementioned animals were four-legged and hooded. But all of these animals were not domesticated at the same time. The first ones to be domesticated were sheep and goats and the bones of domesticated sheep and goats dating back to 9,000 BC. The oldest examples of domesticated cows are dated to 6,000 BC and examples for horses and camels go back 4,000 and 3,000 years, respectively. This situation shows that after sheep and goats were domesticated, cattle were subsequently domesticated, based on a long period of experience².

We can say that the domestication of animals brought benefits to the nomads from a number of angles. One of these was obtaining clothing and

¹ For more information and noteworthy determinations and approaches concerning the birth and formation of the nomadic lifestyle in Eurasia see Masatake Matsubara, "Joron-Yûrashiashino Kouchikuni Mukete" (Japanese), *Yûrashia Sougen Karano Messege: Yûboku Kenkyu no Saizensen*, editors: Masatake Matsubara-Yuki Konagaya-Haiyin Yang, Tokyo 2005, pp. 11-33.

² The appearance in archeological research of traces of animals and shelters for sheep and goats that were held and fattened in places that can be characterized as sheep folds, during the period before Christ (BC) in the places furthest west in Asia, namely Anatolia and the Middle East, must be an indicator that the start of animal domestication was already underway during that period. For new views and some theoretical approaches put forth on this subject see Yutaka Tani, "Reconsideration of the Early Domestication Process of Goats or Sheep in the Middle East: The Meaning of Two Types of Nursing Interventions into the Ewe-neonate Relationship" (Japanese), *Minzokugaku Kenkyu / The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, 64/1 (1999), pp. 96-113. Additionally, see M. Matsubara, "Joron-Yûrashiashino Kouchikuni Mukete".

cloth to satisfy their needs in this regard to a large extent. Consequently, they acquired new products both for themselves and for mankind. Another benefit, and perhaps the most important, was that the domestication of animals played an important role in both the transportation of living quarters and in nomads developing riding techniques on the animals. This development broadened the nomads' field of operation and gave them superiority over those on foot. Additionally, they increased their bow and arrow prowess on horseback, as well as their ability to improve their active offensive and defensive strength in battle. In this way, the nomads on horseback were able to not only to travel near and far to previously unthinkable distances and geographic regions but to unite continents, as well. The result of this was that they engendered Eurasia and the consequence of this globalization was a gradual increase in human population. In this regard, the proverb '*kuş kanatın er atın*' (birds by wing, men by horse), which expounds that just as the bird's wing is essential to the bird, the horse is just as important for men, and which is found in the *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* of 11th century Kâşgarlı Mahmud, is quite meaningful³. Additionally, it's worth calling to mind some proverbs spoken among the Kyrgyz nomadic community: '*At adamdyn kanaty*' (the horse is man's wing), which is understood to be a variant of Kâşgarlı Mahmud's words concerning horses, characterizes the horse as a speedy vehicle for mankind, similar to an airplane, and a means for man to more quickly gain a notion of speed in his discovery of the larger world.



A Monument of Baatyr Manas in Bishkek

Another significant proverb '*Atyñ barda cer taany / atañ barda el taany*' (know the world through a horse / know the people through your father) reflects the horse's role in nomadic people learning about the larger

³ *Kitâbu Dîvânü Lügâti't-Türk*, Tıpkıbasım, İstanbul 2008, p. 29; *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercemesi*, translator: Besim Atalay, Ankara 1992, I, pp. 34-35.

world and reaching previously unknown places, and a father's role in abetting the younger generation's awareness of its community and in passing along the legacy of forefathers to a new generation. Likewise, the proverb '*At, attan kiin jat*' (without a horse just lie down) carries the meaning that nomads cannot move without horses; they just lie around and are not able to discover new places in the world. The proverb '*Erdin aty erge ten*' (a stalwart man's horse completes him) means that in the nomadic community a stalwart man is made complete by his horse and, consequently, the horse has a special place in his life and in his knowing of people and geography. Based on these proverbs, which have come down to the present day by word of mouth from generation to generation, one must say that the nomads who domesticated the horse, who were essentially made complete by it and who gave the horse special names such as 'Akkula', 'Chalkuŋruk', 'Teltoru', 'Al-kara', 'Maaniker', 'Akboz' and 'Jorgo', have played an accelerating and important role in the changes in history overall and in Eurasia's history.

Another matter that should be taken up here is mankind's emergence onto a broader geographic plain and a wider communications net from his smaller ones, as the nomads began to set out and mankind's related discovery of new ways to use things and to live. This situation shows the introduction of lands and broad pastures not suitable for cultivation or hunting into mankind's field of activity, by means of the nomads. In this regard, it can be said that the constantly-moving nomads played an important role in the establishment of settlements in oases and along river banks and, in fact, in the formulation of communications links between different civilizations that tied them together like a nervous system. Over time the areas used by and lived in by the nomads started to be known as summer pastures (*jaŋloo*) and winter quarters (*kyshtoo*) for cattle. The winter quarters, where the winter season is passed, has the meaning of a smaller place by comparison to the summer pastures-larger areas where in some locations the spring and summer seasons are passed and in some locations just the summers. Thusly, there are smaller and relatively fewer nomad groups found in the winter quarters, whereas the summer pasture is a place where more than ten, twenty or thirty groups and those from other regions gather.

Over the course of history the nomad groups have come to the summer pastures at the beginning of spring each year in a scene that calls to mind the theatre, with the groups acting as players in the scene, meeting, getting together, socializing and then returning from the summer pastures to the winter quarters. This play repeats every year and plays an important role in the nomads having a common history and in the development of their cultural values. In this context, the summer pastures are special in that they are the places where the nomadic groups meet, meld and become clans and where the nomads ultimately become a nation. It is worth recalling a Kyrgyz saying that reflects this special nature of the summer pas-

tures: ‘*Eki jakshy jaiłoogo chyksa kudalashyp tüshöt / Eki jaman jaiłoogo chyksa kubalashyp tüshöt*’ (If two good people go to the summer pastures they come down as in-laws / If two bad people go to the summer pastures they come down fighting). This saying is important from the standpoint of showing the special character of the summer pastures in the view of the people, as a melding point where relations between families are strengthened. In addition, the word ‘tüşöt’ in the saying indicates that the Kyrgyz migration is a ‘vertical’ one. This migration movement of the Kyrgyz is like that of most Kazakh clans, which conduct their migrations vertically, in accordance with the Kazakh steppes, as opposed to horizontally. In vertical migrations the nomads move directly to the high mountain summer pastures from the winter quarters situated in areas below and return down by the same route.



A view of Son-Köl summer pastures

With regard to this special nature of the summer pastures, we can offer the example of the Son-Köl and Suusamyr summer pastures in Kyrgyzstan, which are the source of migrations in Central Asia. One of these summer pastures, Son-Köl, is situated 3,016 meters above sea level. Son-Köl historically has been a summer pasture where animals have been grazed for a period of about four months between June and September. To put it another way, other than during these months it is impossible to live here because of the cold, as the lake at Son-Köl freezes and the grass begins to yellow. Son-Köl summer pasture is located in the middle of the Toguz Toro, Jumgal, Aktalaa, Naryn and Kochkor regions and has been a place where nomadic groups have met, melded and socialized from the past until today. In this regard, at Son-Köl one finds *kurgans*, *balbals* and petroglyphs (rock engravings) from the Scythian period of the 8th Century BC; *kurgans* from the time of the Huns, during the period from the 2nd to the 6th century AD; *kurgans* and *balbals* from the Köktürks, dating from the 6th to the 10th centuries AD; and graves and *kurgans* from the Kyrgyz period.

This situation shows that the summer pasture in question has been used by nomads for a long period of history. In this context, *kurgans* and *balbals* have been identified at points in Son-Köl, such as Chong-Döbö, Aktash, Tash-Tulga, İtelgi-Uya, Kylaa, Bala-Beit and Kök-Bulak; there are 11 *kurgans* belonging to Scythian kings at Chong-Döbö; and petroglyphs at places like Kalmak Ashuu, Tash-Döbö and Kök-Bulak⁴. The fact that even today Kyrgyz nomadic groups from regions like Jumgal, Aktalaa, Kochkor and Naryn come to and settle at Son-Köl summer pastures is indicative of the historical traces and customs.



A view of Suusamyр summer pastures

The Suusamyр summer pasture is located at the center of the Chuı, Talas, Naryn, Osh and Jalalabat regions and where the roads to these regions meet. Suusamyр has a character very much like Son-Köl summer pasture. Based on what is known from historical sources and traces, Suusamyр summer pasture has been used by the Kyrgyz and the forefathers of Turkic peoples, the Sakas, the Huns, the Köktürks, the Türgesh and the Karakhanids⁵. Subsequently, the region came under Mongol administration. As of the second half of the 15th century nomadic groups began to use the summer pasture under Kyrgyz administration⁶. In this regard, during the period of Russian Czarist administration of the region Russian traveler V. I. Lipskiı transitted the Suusamyр (July 10-17, 1903) and noted that the no-

⁴ K. Sh. Tabaldiev-R. Bozer, "Pamyatniki Rannikh Kochevnikov Doliny Oзера Son-Köl", *Stepi Evrazii ve Drevnosti i Srednevekove*, II, Sankt- Peterburg 2003, pp. 158-161.

⁵ For information about archeological finds in Suusamyр during the periods mentioned see P. N. Kozhemyako, *Baıyrky madaniyat estelikterin saktaiıy*, Frunze 1969, p. 70.

⁶ For general information on this subject see *Istoriya Kirgizskoı SSR, S drevneyshikh vremen do nashih dneı*, Vol. I, Frunze 1984, pp. 430-476.

mads came like waves to Suusamyr at the beginning of the migration season⁷. Similarly, with regard to Suusamyr being a place where nomadic groups came from all directions to meet and meld, in the Kazakh folk song there is a line that goes: *Suusamyr eldin jaǵlau / Ömirdin bar ma baǵlau* (Suusamyr-Summer pastures of People / If you tie there, you have a long life)⁸, indicating that throughout history the Suusamyr has had the character of a place used by not only Kyrgyz nomadic groups, but other neighboring Kazakh, and in fact Uzbek, nomadic groups.

It is said that in the establishment of a close connection between mankind-nature-animals, man's acquisition of language capability and his use of language played an important role. Although there are many as-yet-unknown points related to language and the formation of languages in human history, it seems that this capability began to be acquired about 50,000 years ago. It is surmised that parallel to the start of man's use of language the ability to think and express thoughts developed and, over time, man was able to achieve an understanding, a recognition and knowledge of the world and to establish means of communications. In this way, the words that men passed to each other from mouth to mouth enabled them to transfer the concepts, information and values of civilization from their local area to places afar and, in fact, to establish an intercontinental communications network. We understand that the nomads played a significant role in this process. It is possible to say that this network of values and communications was realized because of the movements to and from the summer pastures and winter quarters, the transport of army equipment in wartime and in the course of the commercial activity of caravans during periods of peace such as Pax Mongolia and Pax Ottoman. In this way, common cultural and civilized values were formulated in a great number of areas.

We know that concepts and conceptual marks concerning animals and animal products, in particular, were formed and used as common cultural and civilized values in Eurasia, which is accepted as being the birthplace of nomadism. For example, the Anatolian Turkish words for five kinds of animals-‘koyun’ (sheep), ‘keçi’ (goats), ‘inek’ (cows), ‘at’ (horses) and ‘deve’ (camels)-are the same or similar in many Turkic languages like Bashkurt, Uighur, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen and Azeri. We can also say that the same situation exists with regard to the names of equipment used in horse riding. Additionally, there is a common term - ‘mal’ (animal) - that is used across a wide area of Eurasia, and primarily in Central Asia, to refer to these five kinds of animals. Besides this, the animal

⁷ V. I. Lipskiĭ, “Po Gornym Oblastyam Russkago Turkestana: Tyan-Shanya”, *Izvestiya Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva*, Vol. XLII, 1906, no. 1, S. Petersburg 1906, p. 126.

⁸ See *Ayyl keshi könildi*, compiled by Haydolla Tilemisov, Almaty 1993, pp. 135-136.

known in Turkish as 'it' or 'köpek' (dog) is also called 'it' in almost every part of Central Asia. It is important to acknowledge that all of these points indicate that the nomads were the transporters and conveyors of civilized values from Asia's eastern extremes to the continent's farthestmost western reaches. Here we should mention 'yoğurt' as an animal product. The word 'yoğurt' comes from the verb 'yogur-' (to knead), in the sense of kneading something, and spread from Central Asia to the middle of Europe. Today it is has become a universal food product.

We see that the nomads use certain words and terms in connection with techniques for managing animals, which are a common cultural and civilized value. In this regard, using their linguistic capability nomads started to formulate and use certain words and terms with voicing methods, such as '*kis, kis*' in Anatolian Turkish to drive sheep, '*hoşt gah gah gah*' to call a dog, and '*dirreyt, dirreyt*' to lead sheep to water. But in this regard one must not think that a common word and term for animals in all languages has been formulated. However, the formation of common words and terms for animals in each language and related languages might occur and comparative linguistic studies would confirm this.

It is also possible to see the common cultural and civilized values concerning animals reflected in the names of wild plants. In this regard, it has been confirmed that quite a few names for wild plants, such as diken (thornbush), deve diken (thistle), kuzu kulağı (sheep's sorrel), at kulağı (horse's sorrel), soğan (onion), ıskın or ısgın (rheum ribes), sarımsak (garlic), gıc (purslane), çiriş (powdered asphodel root), kekik (thyme), güne bakan (sunflower), reyhan (sweet basil), tarhun (tarragon) and kamysh (bamboo), are used in common from one end of Asia to the other and are spoken in very similar ways. Certainly, the contribution of nomads in making this happen has been significant.

In summary, we can say the following: in Eurasia, which is accepted to be the place where nomadism emerged, mankind started to move toward a larger geographic area from a smaller one in parallel with his relationship with the environment and animals. We can say as well that the man - environment - animal triangular network was formed first and then, as this network was developed, mankind began to spread out to a broader geographical area. This situation must have formed the basis for the nomad community's summer pasture-winter quarter lifestyle. The nomads, who meet each year in places called summer pastures (yayla) in groups whose numbers exceed ten or twenty or thirty, engage in an exchange of civilized values that constitutes nationhood. They transfer these values in many fields from the local milieu to the universal one and by doing so play an important role in the formulation of both a common culture and civilization and in the formation of a nation, a people and a community in Eurasia.

Some Findings and Views Regarding the Formation of Nomadic Groups in Central Eurasia*

Eurasia is the term that describes the Asian and European continents geographically. Central Eurasia refers to Eurasia's center, similar to the way that Central Asia refers to the center of Asia. As far as is known, Denis Sinor used this term for the first time. Sinor used this term not just to describe a separate geographic area, but to explain a place where Ural-Altaï peoples have lived for centuries, whose borders may have changed because of historical events and where cultures interact¹. This situation points out the importance of comparative research made on the Central Eurasian peoples. One of the most critical characteristics of comparative research is taking subjects and problems which are unknown and for which a comment cannot be made and comparing them with another similar subject so that many points can be revealed and comments made. Starting from this point, there are certain aspects related to the formation of nomadic groups in Central Eurasia that require exposition. To do this we want to use the example of the Kyrgyz nomads, who have preserved the important characteristics of nomadic life in Central Eurasia up to now, and the nomadic groups of Anatolia. However, in order to better understand the subject, a few points about the emergence of nomadism must be addressed first.

Mankind emerged in Africa approximately 200,000 years ago and started to spread from there to other areas of the world between 50,000 and 100,000 years ago. It is estimated that mankind emerged in Eurasia 50,000 years ago. In this regard, it is understood that mankind's relationships first developed with a recognition of nature, the physical environment, and by following and hunting wild animals, the social environment. We can consider this relationship as a three-way one, between mankind, nature and animals. We can say, as well, that in the framework of this relationship,

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¹ On this subject, see Hisao Komatsu, "Japanese Approaches to Central Eurasian Studies", *Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future*, eds: Hisao Komatsu et al., İstanbul 2011, pp. 13-17.

mankind started to begin to know the physical environment by following the wild animals that changed location with the seasons, became accustomed to the lifestyle we call nomadic and over time began to live this lifestyle. In other words, mankind achieved the nomadic lifestyle in large measure thanks to the animals and the experience and knowledge of the animals. In this regard, it has been determined that mankind entered into an integration process with the animals, starting with sheep and goats, then with cattle and then with horses and camels. In this way, the Eurasian nomadic lifestyle was essentially completed with these 4 or 5 species of animals. Relatedly, the statement in Kyrgyz spoken among the Kyrgyz nomads, *tört tülük mal* (four kinds of animals), refers to sheep, goats, cows and horses and carries great importance. The Mongols would add camels to this list of four kinds of animals. These five animals have an important place in the nomadic life of the Mongols, who established horse-borne empires. Here we should draw attention to an important matter: the use of the term *mal* for all of these various animals. Today in Anatolian Turkish the term *mal* has a broad meaning but it is used in the wide geographic expanse of Eurasia to mean animals².



Animal herds called ‘mal’ in Suusamyr and Son-Köl summer pastures in Kyrgyzstan

The most important characteristic of nomadic life over the course of history is that this lifestyle of mankind is lived not alone or just with the family, but rather among groups who know each other from near and far and who are related or know each other well. However, the formation and emergence of these groups is a long process. The most important characteristic of the groups are the animals, the *mal*, a family owns but the places where these groups live as the seasons change, known as ‘yazla’ (spring pasture), ‘yayla’ (summer pasture), ‘güzle’ (autumn pasture), and ‘kışla’

² For more information and very significant findings and approaches regarding the birth and formation of the nomadic lifestyle in Eurasia, see Masatake Matsubara, “Joron-Yûrashiashino Kouchikuni Mukete” (Japanese) *Yûrashia Sougen Karano Messege: Yûboku Kenkyu no Saizensen*, editors: Masatake Matsubara-Yuki Konagaya -Haiyin Yang, Tokyo 2005, pp. 11-33.

(winter quarter), are used as an area that everyone can take advantage of, not just one person or family. In other words, in the same way that parks or gardens in today's modern cities are open to everyone, so too are the summer pastures and winter quarters available to all of the nomadic groups.

A great many thoughts have been offered regarding the formation of nomadic groups up to now but we prefer not to dwell on these views here in order to avoid repetition. Rather, we want to make a fresh evaluation on the formation of the aforementioned groups, based on findings we have made on-site in Kyrgyzstan and Ottoman archival records about nomadic groups in Anatolia. In the framework of these evaluations, we see that each one of the nomadic groups who live in the great expanse of Eurasia has a specific name. For example, the clans that form the large bodies named Oğuz or Türkmen or the sub-units of these structures, all have specific names. This situation is the same for all nomads, like Kyrgyz and Kazakh. One of the important characteristics of these nomadic groups is that they have a patrilineal family structure, within which, when a male child marries, his own male children, who create more branches and shoots, form the most basic seed of this group, called *uruk* among the Kyrgyz nomads. It is understood this term is related to *ury*, meaning male child, which is found in both Orkhon and Yenisey inscriptions. In this regard, the word *ury* found in statements in the Kül Tigin inscription, from among the Orkhon inscriptions of the early 8th century, means male child: ‘...*tabgaç: bodunka: beglik: ury oglin: kul boltı: eşilik: kuz oglin: kün boltı...*’ (...a male child deserving to be a man becomes a slave and a female child deserving to be a lady becomes a concubine, among the Chinese people...) and ‘...*beglik: ury oglin: kuul boltı: eşilik kuz oglin kün boltı...*’ (Your male child who was to be a man is a slave, and your female child who was to be a lady is a concubine); and with time it became *uruk*, by adding the ‘k’ suffix³. The same thing has been confirmed in Yenisey inscriptions. In this regard, there is a statement in the Suci inscription, Yenisey number 47 from the 8th century: ‘*agılum on, yılmım sansız erti, inim yiti, uryım üç, kızım üç erti*’ (I have 10 sheepfolds, countless wild horses, seven younger siblings, three sons and three daughters)⁴. *Ury* here means son and by putting a ‘k’ at the end of it, *uryk* or *uruk* results, much like the way names are formed among the Yörük. In other words, the name *uruk* is seen to be related to a male generation among nomadic groups.

The subjects addressed above find a parallel among the information determined in oral history studies made in relation to Kyrgyz nomads. In this regard, during our research about the Kyrgyz community we found that

³ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 2010, pp. 26-27 (KT D7), 30-31 (KT D24).

⁴ Nurdin Useev, *Enisei jazma estelikleri I: Leksikasy jana tekstter*, Bishkek 2011, pp. 70-71, 504.

there is great importance given to the seven forefathers that precede a father⁵. Individuals who do not know the seven generations before their father are considered to be lacking in ancestry, and to be from bad stock. In order not to spoil the blood tie intermarriage is forbidden within the seven generations. In this regard, most times the name of the seventh forefather plays a major role in the emergence of a group or uruk. In this way, when *uruks* with intersecting lines join together, similar to the way that a uruk is formed, it results in the formation of a larger nomadic group, a clan, which is seen as *bod* (plural *bodun*) in Old Turkic inscriptions, and as *uruu* among the Kyrgyz and *ru* among the Kazakhs. Even today in the Kyrgyz community, the finding that those who form a uruk come from a male forefather's line or that it is being formed by those related to him, confirms this matter. Additionally, in the Kyrgyz community it is noteworthy that *urpak* is said to refer to children or generations from a forefather's line, as shown by the examples *Manastyn urpaktary*, *Tagaï Biïdin urpaktary* or *Ormon Handyn urpaktary*. Here it is possible to consider that *urpak* is related to *ury*, which means male child.

The formation of nomadic groups in this manner is not confined to the Kyrgyz, as can be seen among the nomadic groups of Anatolia. In this regard, we can give as an example the formation of the nomadic group called Toklukemen, which was a member of the larger Varsak nomadic group, in the Kırşehir region in 1485. At that time, there were a total of 48 taxpayers of the group, led by İnce Kethüda⁶, who was one of five brothers, all of them sons of Yakup. There were Sevindik and Ali, each of whom had three sons. Following these were the fathers Güvendik, Kızıl, Musa, Karaca, Tatar, Döşemiş, Ali, İbrahim, another Ali, İne Hoca and Emet, each of whom had two siblings. There were two sons of Karaca, each of whom had a son, noted as taxpayers, as well. Recorded in the notebook as individuals were the sons of Emir, Ali, Tatak, another Ali, Halil, Emet, Güvendik and Mesud. In addition, Gök Güvendik and his son Hızır were members of the aforementioned nomadic group. Besides these, there were Derviş Hasan and Arap and Arap's son-in-law Karaca, who were also listed as taxpayers. Another example in this regard, would be the Yağcı Bedir Yörük group whose population was less than that of the Toklukemen nomadic group. In 1530 this group had 11 households. It has been determined that there were three brothers within these households who were the sons of Kulfâl. The

⁵ For a comparative study on this subject related to the formation of the Alseyit, Shapak and Temir *uruks* tied to the Bugu *uruu*, see İlhan Şahin, "Sözlü Tarih Kaynaklarına Göre Avrasya Göçebe Gruplarının Oluşum Süreci", *Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future*, editors: H. Komatsu et al., İstanbul 2011, pp. 443-447.

⁶ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Minister's Office Ottoman Archives), *Tapu-Tahrir Defteri*, no 19, p. 309.

owners of two households were the sons of Eymir. Besides this, the owners of two households were the sons of Elvan. The remaining four households were listed as belonging to other fathers⁷.



A View from Toklumen village in Turkey which established by Toklukemen nomads

With regard to the formation of the Toklukemen nomadic group given as an example above, it is possible to say a few things. In this nomadic group, those coming from the line of Yakup were both the leaders and the most populous family group. If we were to point out that ‘kethüda’ and ‘bey’ (leaders) titles were generally passed down from father to son in nomadic groups, then we can say that prior to İnce Kethüda, Yakup and Yakup’s forefathers were leaders. In this situation, it is understood that the directing families played an important role in the formation of the Toklukemen nomadic group, similar to the role they play in the formation of the uruk among Kyrgyz nomads. Additionally, almost all of the 48 taxpayers recorded among the Toklukemen group in 1485 were recorded based on their father’s name. This being the case, the number of recorded fathers was more than 20. Today Toklumen village is located 50 kilometers west of Kırşehir. It was formed over time with the settlement in the region of the Toklukemen nomadic group⁸. For the Yağcı Bedir Yörüks, though, the number of living or deceased fathers was seven in 1530. It is natural that these numbers would form more of a seed number, with regard to the generations before the aforementioned fathers. In Ottoman times, taxpayers or

⁷ For more information on this nomadic group, see Hikari Egawa- İlhan Şahin, *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı: Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri*, İstanbul 2007.

⁸ Our research on this village is currently ongoing and is based on both written and oral history sources.

those exempted from taxes were generally registered under their father's name or a brother's name, rather than being recorded under the names of other relatives, like aunts or uncles, indicating that in the formation of these nomadic groups those coming from a forefather's line and close relatives played an important role.



A View from Küntuu village in Kyrgyzstan which established
by Küntuu *uruk* (sub-clan)

Taking all of this into account, one must not think that only one forefather's line played an important role in the formation of nomadic groups. Essentially, the formation of these groups took a long time. We know that over the course of history, many nomadic families or groups entered into the administration or the protection of stronger or more populous nomadic groups because of the effects of political and social events. These newcomers took advantage of their new group's summer pastures and winter quarters and, over time, either became members of the stronger nomadic group or formed new groups of their own. We were able to confirm this situation during the field studies that we conducted in Kyrgyzstan, one of which involved the village of Küntuu⁹. This village is located 10 kilometers from the Kyrgyzstan capital of Bishkek. Küntuu is the name of a *uruk* tied to the Solto uruu, the name having been taken from a forefather of the same name. A significant portion of the village's residents come from the family line of Küntuu's three sons, known by the names Chong Murun, Dandybaï and Kulboldu. Each one of these three groups forms a street known as *köchö* in the village. As far as can be determined, families who are mem-

⁹ On this subject, see İlhan Şahin, "Kinship Relations in Kyrgyzstan Following the Transition Period: The Case of Küntuu Village", *Eurasia Twenty Years After*, editors: A. Sengupta-S. Chatterjee-S. Bhattacharya, published by Shipra Publications, New Delhi 2012, pp. 172-182.

bers of external nomadic groups are coming to the village and settling. As the result of this settling, the new families are absorbed into all the social and economic support systems of the group to which they have entered. In this regard, political, social and economic reasons play an important role in the formation of nomadic groups, as shown by the example of the families who left the Sarybagysh nomadic group and entered into the Dandybaï group during the collectivization that began to be implemented after 1927 during the Soviet Union period and the Kulaka Tartuu movement. Despite the fact that they knew the real group to which they belonged, these families felt that they were members of the Dandybaï group. An example shows that nomadic groups have a flexible structure that allows them to move easily from one group to another, is that of the nomadic groups formed by the Çoşlu Yörüks, tied to the nomadic group known by the name Honamlı in Anatolia in the years between 1970-1980, who came together more out of close relations of friendship than from the effect of family lineage¹⁰.

We encountered another important aspect of the social life in Küntuu village: since the village is close to the Kyrgyz capital of Bishkek it has seen migrations from Kyrgyzstan's provinces, such as Naryn, Talas, Osh and Batken, for economic reasons, especially after 1991. These migrants formed groups like *Naryndyktar*, *Talastyktar*, *Oshtuktar* and *Batkendikter*, depending on which province they came from, and their leaders emerged from within their ranks, based on their capabilities¹¹. They are seen to have social and economic support systems among themselves. Administrative, social and economic units like these in Küntuu village help to throw light on units of earlier times. In other words, it seems possible to think of this situation as another trace of the clues related to nomadic groups taking names and forms centuries ago, similar to the terms *Otuz oglan* (Thirty Sons) found in Old Turkic inscriptions in the Talas region, dating from the first half of the 8th century. In this regard, the latest research made regarding the *Otuz oglan* group mentioned in this inscription¹² posits that the *Otuz oglan* probably emerged and was organized as an entourage group, that this organ subsequently entered into a tribalization phase, and that ultimately this name was transferred to the Kyrgyz. One can not help but get the im-

¹⁰ Matsubara Masatake, *Göçebeliğin Dünyası: Türk Göçebelerinden Çoşlu Yörüklerinin Etnografyası*, translator from Japanese to Turkish: Kiyotaka Sugihara, Ankara 2012, pp. 256-258.

¹¹ İ. Şahin, "Kinship Relations", pp. 176-179.

¹² See Mihaly Dobrovits, "Otuz Oglan Sagdıçları: Eski Bir Yazıtın Bize Öğrettikleri", *I. Uluslararası Uzak Asya'dan Ön Asya'ya Eski Türkçe Bilgi Şöleni Bildirileri*, 18-20 November 2009, Afyonkarahisar, Türkiye, editors: C. Alyılmaz-Ö. Ay-M. Yılmaz, Afyonkarahisar 2010, pp. 67-74.

pression from this that these units in Küntuu village today may be examples of the beginning of nomadic group units in earlier times.

There is another matter that draws attention on the subject of these units. Nomadic groups' summer pasture locations are not just the places where they graze their animals. These places also have the characteristic of being locations where nomadic groups from different and far distant regions meet, where cultural and civilized values are boiled together in a cauldron, and where relations are established. In this regard, the aforementioned places are special ones, where the common values of nomadic groups are brought together and, in fact, lead toward nation-building.

In the framework of the subjects addressed above, one must think of the formation process of nomadic groups as essentially a long one. An important and profound role in the formation of these groups is the forefathers' line and being tied to it. However, the fact that other groups migrate in from elsewhere because of political, social and economic reasons and over time become members of the accepting group and that, in fact, new units emerge with these migrations, shows that these groups are not as homogeneous as they were thought to be. The rapid coming and going and organizing of groups in this manner is an indication of the importance of flexibility and practicality in nomadic lifestyle and thinking.

Regarding Socio-Cultural Structures in Ottoman-Kyrgyz Nomadic Life*

It is a fact that societies have basic socio-cultural values and structures that are unique to themselves. Comparative studies concerning these values and structures, which form over a long period of time, would certainly be very helpful to us in understanding mutual relations between communities in the course of history and their basic cultural ties. In this regard, we want to take up here certain basic socio-cultural structures of Ottoman and Kyrgyz nomads, show whether or not they constitute mutual relations and, in this way, put a more universal focus on nomadism, one of the important lifestyles that mankind has created.

Determining the socio-cultural structures regarding Ottoman society's nomads - one of its important elements - can be done by relying on archival sources. On the other hand, determining the socio-cultural structures of the Kyrgyz community, which has brought its nomadic lifestyle values to the present day in a living manner, can generally be done only by collecting oral histories and doing field research. An important reason for this is that the nomads of the Ottoman period were registered as a separate group within the state early on and were forced to settle down in the framework of the central administration's settlement policy and so they gradually lost the special nature of nomadism¹. Conversely, the Kyrgyz nomads began to settle down at a much later date and they have carried many characteristics of nomadism to the present day. The most important reason for this is that nomadism has almost become genetic in Kyrgyz society and a great many cultural values are transferred from generation to generation. Another reason is that the natural make-up of the geography where they live must also be considered in evaluating the preservation and continuation of this

* It was presented at the *CIEPO Interim Symposium on the Central Asiatic Roots of the Ottoman Culture* (August 24-29, 2009, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan).

¹ For the settlement of nomads under Ottoman administration see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI (1951), pp. 525-569, XIII (1955), pp. 56-78, XV (1955), pp. 209-237; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü*, 1691-1696, İstanbul 1963; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*, Ankara 1988; Hikari Egawa-İlhan Şahin, *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı: Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri*, İstanbul 2007, pp. 113-130.

lifestyle. In other words, Kyrgyzs live in rough mountains with passes in Central Asia. It should be an indication that the high mountain geography played an important role in the protection and preservation of the Kyrgyz community and its cultural values².



A scene from daily life in Son-Köl summer pasture

Certainly, the most basic social structure of both the settled and nomadic peoples who made up Ottoman society was ‘aile’ (family), which is an Arabic word and means the people of the household. In the Kyrgyz nomadic community, though, ‘üi bülöö’ is used as the counterpart to ‘aile’. ‘Üi’ here has the nature of ‘eb’ found in ancient Turkish texts³. ‘Bülöö’ has the meaning of a family member. It is understood that as the result of the ‘b’ in ‘eb’, which settled as ‘üi’ in the Kyrgyz language, turning into ‘v’, the word comes out as ‘üi’ in Kyrgyz and as ‘ev’ in Turkish. It is worth pointing out that Mongolian uses ‘ger büli’ or ‘ger böli’, which both sound like ‘üi bülöö’. ‘Ger’ means tent here, indicating a family. ‘Büli’ or ‘böli’ signify a family’s closest relatives. This situation shows that ‘ger büli’ or ‘ger böli’ are used in a broader sense than ‘üi bülöö’.

Among the Ottomans, the home or dwelling of a family was called ‘hane’. As for the Kyrgyz community, ‘tütün’ was the term used as the counterpart of ‘hane’ and ‘tütün’ comes from the verb ‘tütme’ (to smoke,

² In this regard, in a Ottoman traveller book giving information about the Kyrgyz people in the last quarter of the 16th century indicates like this: ‘... yerleri sarb tag-lardur ve yeryer derbendleri vardur. Üzerlerine bir padişah leşker çeküb varsa, evlerin tag içine çekerler ve kendüler ol derbendlerin agzın alup tururlar’ (Seyfi Çelebi, *L’Ouvrage de Seyfi Çelebi: Historien Ottoman du XVIe Siècle*, édition critique Joseph Matuz, Paris 1968, pp. 84-87).

³ For information about the appearance of the word’s ‘eb’ form in the Kül Tigin and Bilge Kağan inscriptions found among Orkhon inscriptions, see Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 2010, pp. 36-37 (KT K1), 38-39 (KT K8), 48-49 (BK K14), 62-63 (BK D32 and BK D37).

to give off smoke). Here, though, 'tütün' does not refer to cigarette smoke but rather to an occupied home with a burning stove that gives off smoke. Even today, it has been established that 'tütün' is used particularly in the rural Kyrgyz community as the counterpart to 'hane'. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the sayings '*tütün bulata alyshpady*' and '*otu küüşhpödü*' are used in the Kyrgyz community to refer to people who have failed in marriage or have divorced, meaning that they haven't been able to keep the fire going, so to speak. In these sayings the word 'tütün' surely refers to home and hearth. Additionally, the custom of '*otko kirgizmek*' in the Kyrgyz community today is understood to be related to smoke or smoldering fire ('ateş kültü'). According to this custom, when the bride comes each of the groom's relatives invite the bride to their homes, where a fire is lit and the bride is asked to spread oil on the fire. As the fire flares and shoots out the smoke covers the bride and she is considered to have been accepted in the house. The bride cannot enter this house without this ceremony being conducted. These days, however, this custom is done without fire, with the bride simply being invited to the home and paying her respects to the home's owners and offering prayers of good will for them. Nevertheless, the bride cannot go to the groom's relatives' homes without performing 'otko kirgizmek'⁴.

It is therefore very interesting, in this regard, that during Ottoman times, in particular, the tax imposed per-household on nomads who came from elsewhere and passed the winter season temporarily in winter quarters was known as 'resm-i tütün', 'resm-i duhan' or 'resm-i dud'⁵. The nomads paid a winter tax on their homes or houses in the place where they passed the winter⁶. 'Resm', which is an Arabic word, here has the meaning of tax. 'Duhan', an Arabic word, and 'dûd, a Persian word, mean smoke. To put it in a broader sense, 'tütün', 'duhan' or 'dûd' refer to the burning stove, the smoking chimney and the billowing smoke coming from a tent or home. The chimney smoke from a stove or a stove chimney in Anatolia was an important indicator that signified not just a nomad's home but was applicable to houses in settled areas, as well. Relatedly, a clear example of this shows up in Haşim Mehmed's travel journal from the latter part of the 18th century, in which, while providing information about a pass at Ulaş village in Sivas, he noted that horses and carts could pass over the underground homes, like those of the people of Erzurum, that were built that way to

⁴ Gülzura Jumakunova (born in 1954) is from Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on June 11, 2013, Seoul, Republic of Korea).

⁵ Halil İnalçık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1987, p. XXIX.

⁶ It is very interesting to see from the statement 'Yana tütün bermişte bir böz' (I gave a ball of fabric as house tax), found in Old Uighur texts, that tütün meant a kind of tax (Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyrkskiy Slovar*', Moscow-Leningrad 1969, p. 601, Usp 38, 11).

protect them from the winter cold. The stoves from the homes showed that they were there beneath the ground⁷.

Of course, this situation demonstrates the link between the ‘tütün’, ‘duhan’ or ‘dûd’ of the Ottoman settled or nomadic people and the ‘tütün’ of the Kyrgyz community and, consequently, the importance each group gave to the ‘ocak / ochok’ (stove) concept. In this regard, in Turkish culture ‘ocak’ lives on, both as a place where family members live together and as a word that conveys unity, harmony and togetherness. In this regard, there are sayings and proverbs in Anatolian Turkish in which ‘ocak’ is used with broad meanings. One of these widely-used sayings is ‘baba ocağı’, which refers to the home, land and nation of ones forefathers, grandfather and father. When someone curses another by saying ‘*ocağını söndürmek*’ (to ruin the family) or ‘*ocağın sönsün*’ (may his family be ruined) the meaning is that the cursed person’s home and family should be broken up or destroyed. Similarly, the saying ‘*ocağına incir dikmek*’ carries the sense of destroying and dispersing a person’s home, family and children. In addition, with regard to Ottoman administrative organizations like ‘Yeniçeri Ocağı’ (Janissary Corps), ‘Topçu Ocağı’ (Artillery Corps) and ‘Top Arabacıları Ocağı’ (Artillery Wagoners), groups were formed around, and became members of an ‘ocak’. In addition, ‘ocak’ (quarry) is used to refer to tangible things like rock and mineral quarries.

One should not think that smoke or emerging smoke was a cultural value that signified homes only among the nomadic groups of Central Asian Kyrgyz and Anatolia. We understand that it was a cultural value that signaled a home or a house in certain other groups and nations in Asia from very early times, even if the words used were not ‘duman’ (smoke) or ‘tütün’ (smoke emerging from a chimney). In this regard, an important example from long ago that shows that smoke and emerging smoke signified homes or houses, comes from Japan’s oldest history book, called *Kokiki*, written in 712, in which there is information about the legendary Emperor Nintoku Tennou, who is accepted as being the man who long sat on the imperial throne in the 4th century. While administering the country in the Takatsu-no miya Palace in Osaka, which was called Naniwa in those

⁷ “... Hâneleri kemâl-i şiddet-i şitâdan muhâfaza için Erzurum hâneleri misillü zîr-i zemîn olup üzerinden at ve araba ile ubûr ederler. Hâne olduğu ocaklarından mâ'lûm olur ve bir hâne derûnunda kendüleri ve hizmetkâr ve hayvânâtlarından mâ'adâ yüz nefer süvârî dahi müsâfir oldukda bir kaç âhûru dahi tehî kaldığı temâşâ olundu ...” (In order to bear the fierce winter weather, the homes like Erzurum homes are built beneath the ground and horses and carts pass over them. It is known from the stoves that there is a house there and within the house there may be one hundred guests, besides the owners, their servants and their animals, such that you might have quite a crowd in there), see Hâşim Mehmed, *İmâ-yı Törehât-ı Büldânân*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine, no. 1564, 71a).

times, the emperor 'one day climbed a high mountain and looked all around. He saw that there was no smoke coming from settled areas nor was there any stove smoke. He attributed this to the peoples' poverty and economic difficulties. But he had exempted the people from all taxes for three years and had not even had the leaky roof of the palace fixed during this period.' Even though this information was written in story fashion, it shows that smoke and emerging smoke were important indicators in determining homes or houses in times long past⁸.

After family, the most basic social structures of the Ottoman nomadic community were units known by the names 'cemaat', 'bölük', 'tîr', 'oy-mak', 'mahalle' and 'oba'. The fact that nomadic units were known by so many varied terms probably stems from the dissolution of the clan organization and the nomads becoming more dispersed, and also from their acquaintance with differing cultural and civilized concepts within the empire's geography. These units had an administrative and economic character for nomadic groups and were made up primarily of families that were both near and distant relatives. But some groups entered other units from units that became dispersed because of political, social, economic or other reasons and went off in varying directions. Some families from other units entered new units. Both of these show that the units did not necessarily have a homogeneous structure. Each group had a special name within this social configuration and most of the time this name came from a forefather of the group's members or could be the name of the group's leading administrator, someone who came from within the group.

The words 'cemaat' (congregation) and 'mahalle' (neighborhood) were used with broad meanings in Ottoman times and were also used to refer to nomadic groups. Both words are Arabic, which shows that they began to be used following the Turks' acceptance of Islam and in the period following their migration to Anatolia. Of these words, 'cemaat' was more widely used by bureaucrats from the central administration to refer to nomadic groups. 'Mahalles' were more often considered to form the subsection or sub-groups of the cemaats.

⁸ *Kojiki*, editors Yamaguchi Yoshinori-Kohnoshi Takamatsu, Tokyo 2007, pp. 250-252. As is understood from the information provided, Emperor Nintoku Tennou looked at the country's general situation a bit later and saw that smoke was rising throughout the nation so, thinking that the people had become rich, he began to collect taxes once again. Thus, the people had overcome their difficulties and breathed a sigh of relief. In this regard, Emperor Nintoku's reign has been favored by the people and the period in question is referred to as 'Hijiri no Mikado no yo' (Period of the Saintly Emperor). This information about Emperor Nintoku Tennou was repeated with some more details in Japan's oldest official history book, which was completed in 720, eight years after *Kojiki* (see *Nihon Shoki*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki, Naoki Kohjiro, Tokyo 2007, pp. 206-212).

The Turkish word 'bölük' is generally used to refer to parts of a whole, like a community, goods and things. In Mongolian 'bölük' takes the forms 'bülüg', 'bölög' and 'bölug' and carries essentially the same meaning as in Turkish. With regard to Anatolia during Ottoman times, the approach taken by İsenbike Togan concerning the term 'bölük', as often used to refer to nomadic groups in the region that was within the Danishmend Dynasty, is especially noteworthy. In her important article, İsenbike Togan took up the problem of 'bölük' with regard to ancient Turks: among scientists, it is generally accepted that the word *bod* seen in ancient Turkic inscriptions means clan and the word *bodun* is the plural of *bod*; in Chinese sources of that period, though, the term *buluo* is used rather than *bodun*; *bu*, the first part of this word, means 'portion, part' in Chinese and referred to the Hun groups in the time of the Huns; this word is generally translated into Turkish as 'boy, kabile' (clan, tribe); *luo*, the second half of the term, means 'dağılma, dökülme, dağılarak yerleşme, konma' in Turkish and these words may be perceived as dispersal, roaming and temporary settling in an historical context; Togan states that, in this regard, the use of *buluo*'s shows that after the Huns the clans entered into a period of political dispersal caused by economic difficulties and she points out that, in the framework of these matters, the term *buluo*, which has the flavor of a number of separate groups of people, can only be equated to the word *bölük* in Turkish⁹. We should say here, additionally, that from an aural perspective, *buluo* calls to mind the 'bülöö' of 'üi bülöö', which is used to mean family among the Kyrgyz people. So too, among the Mongols, we find the 'büli / böli' of 'ger büli' or 'ger böli', which give a meaning of a family structure larger than 'üi bülöö'.

It is worth pointing out that, although not widespread, during Ottoman times the Persian term 'tîr' was used to refer to certain nomadic groups. 'Tîr', which means 'ok' (arrow) in Turkish, was used mostly in reference to groups in the Menteşe (Muğla) region. In this regard, 'tîr' inescapably calls to mind an arrow as a reflection of the groups of ancient Turks and the administrative system of these groups. In Ottoman archival sources, the term is written as 'tîr', rather than 'ok', probably stemming from the Ottoman scribes' preference for it. On this matter, though, one must keep in mind the Mongol-Ilhan influence in Anatolia prior to the Ottomans and, in fact, that there were groups known as Horzum among these nomads that were members of the important Turkish dynasty, the *Harzemshahs* (Khwarazm Shahs), which ceased to exist in 1231. When it comes to the term 'oymak' used to refer to nomadic groups in Anatolia during the Ottoman period, its appearance in Kyrgyz as 'aïmak' and in Mongolian as 'ayımaγ' [aimag] indicates that it is one of the terms that was transferred from Central Asia to Anato-

⁹ İsenbike Togan, 'Boy Devlet İlişkileri ve Buluo (Bölük) Meselesi', *Halil İnalcık Armağanı-I Tarih Araştırmaları*, Ankara 2009, pp. 43-86.

lia¹⁰. Originally, ‘ayimay’ was used among the Mongols to refer to a social and administrative structure which identified large nomadic groups comprised of near and distant relatives having blood relations with an even larger group. Later on the term began to be used to characterize the territorial region where the groups summered and wintered. In their understanding, there was a central point of this territorial region, which previously had been borderless. Nevertheless, the borders of these regions were still not clearly defined but over time the borders became fixed as administrative regions.



The settlement of related families in Son-Köl summer pasture

Today, however, ‘aïmak’ does not have an administrative character for the Kyrgyz but instead is considered to be a geographic region without definite borders, such as ‘*Isyk-Köl aïmagynda*’, ‘*Naryn aïmagynda*’ and ‘*Chuï aïmagynda*’¹¹. Additionally, in an historical and ethnographic investigation conducted in connection with nomads who go to the Son-Köl summer pasture in Kyrgyzstan, the fact that the name *aïmaktasha jaïgashuu* or *aïmak aïmak jaïgashuu* is given to the settling of nomad families and groups near to one another and the strengthening of neighborly ties¹² is important from the standpoint of showing that the term in question has been used over the course of history to mean similar things.

¹⁰ For the word’s etymological explanation and its forms in various languages and dialects see E. V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskii Slovar Tyurkskikh Yazykov*, I, Moskva 1974, pp. 433-434.

¹¹ For general information about the meanings of the term in the Kyrgyz and Mongol communities see K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, Frunze-Moskva 1965, p. 32; Husain Karasaev, *Kamus Nama*, Bishkek 1996, p. 48.

¹² Baktybek İsaikov, *XX. Yüzyılın Başından Bugüne Kadar Son Köl’deki Yayla Hayatı*, Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, unpublished PhD, Bishkek 2011, p. 37.

As we have identified various terms, besides family, that referred to nomadic groups during Ottoman times, the use of the term ‘uruk’ in the Kyrgyz community is noteworthy. The criterion used in the formation of an ‘uruk’ is that it was established by male children of an ancestor’s seed or lineage. The accepted practice in this regard is the dominant role played in the formation of an ‘uruk’ by the *seven forefather concept* and, additionally, the importance of classifying an uruk with certain exceptions to the seven forefathers. In this regard, an ‘uruk’ is understood to be related to the male child meaning of ‘ury’ in both Orkhon and Yenisey inscriptions. For example, in the Kül Tigin inscription found among the Orkhon inscriptions of the early 8th century in the statement ‘... *beglik ury oglun kuul bolıtı, eşilik kuz oglun kün bolıtı...*’ (Your male child who was a chief has become a slave, your daughter who was a lady has become an odalisque) ‘ury’¹³ means male child and it is understood that with time the ‘k’ suffix was added and it settled into ‘uruk’. The same situation can be established in Yenisey inscriptions. For example, in the statement ‘*agılım on, yulkım sansız erti, inim yiti, uryım üç, kızım üç erti*’ (I have ten sheepfolds, I have countless horses, I have seven younger siblings, I have three male children and three daughters)¹⁴ found in the Suci inscription of the 8th century we see this situation clearly. Even today in the Kyrgyz community this matter is relevant, evident in the founders of an ‘uruk’ being from a male forefather’s lineage, or its establishment through ties to him. In addition, in the Kyrgyz community it is noteworthy that children or generations that come from a forefather’s lineage are called ‘urpak’, as shown by the examples ‘*Manastyn urpaktary*’, ‘*Tagaı Biidin urpaktary*’ or ‘*Ormon Handyn urpaktary*’. Here it is possible to see the relationship between ‘urpak’ and ‘ury’, which means male child.

We should point out that during Ottoman times the term ‘oba’ was used, albeit rarely, for nomadic groups in Anatolia. Similar to nomadic groups’ social structures of various names, in the formation of an ‘oba’ closely related families played an important role. However, within this structure ‘oba’ had the character of an administrative and economic unit. Research regarding nomads¹⁵ reveals that ‘oba’ refers to groups that are characterized as nomads, that participate in migrations together, that set up tents as

¹³ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, pp. 30-31 (KT D24)

¹⁴ Nurdin Useev, *Enisei jazma estelikleri I: Leksikasy jana tekstter*, Bishkek 2011, pp. 70-71, 504.

¹⁵ For example, in this regard, for ethnographic research regarding the Çoşlu Yörüks of the Honamlı Yörüks, see Masatake Matsubara, *Göçebelğin Dünyası: Türk Göçebelerinden Çoşlu Yörüklerinin Etnografyası*, Translator: Kiyotaka Sugihara, Ankara 2012. Likewise, for a monographic study based on both historical records and field studies concerning the Yağcı Bedir Yörüks, see Hikari Egawa-İlhan Şahin, *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı: Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri*, İstanbul 2007.

neighbors in the same place and that are intermixed with regard to community relations and mutual assistance. Over time, the place where the 'oba' has settled or lived took the name of the 'oba'. The term 'oba' has a relationship with 'obog' (oboγ) or 'omog' used among the Mongols¹⁶. In a way similar to a family line, 'obog' or 'omog' are formed by members of the same family or family tree and by those who have close blood ties among themselves. It has the nature of being a social and administrative structure smaller than 'aymag'.

It has been determined that sometimes 'boy' (clan) and sometimes the Arabic equivalent 'taife' (tribe), spoken as 'tayfa' among the people, was used for the social structures above groups and units such as 'cemaat', 'bölük', 'tîr', 'oymak', 'mahalle' and 'oba', as nomadic groups were referred to in Anatolia from early Ottoman times. This indicates that during the period in question a significant portion of nomadic groups were not tied to a 'boy' (clan) and that the traditional clan structure did not exist in a great many nomadic groups. In a clan structure, units linking themselves to a branch or shoot of the same clan as family members play a very important role. But we must not think that units that were widely dispersed due to political, social and economic reasons or member families of these units were from the same line as the entirety of the groups that form a clan just because they entered into the protection of or into the body of a clan.

In the Kyrgyz community, the social structure above the 'uruk' is known by the name 'uruu'. We might consider that 'uruu', which means 'boy' (clan), results from turning the final consonant of the word 'uruk' or 'urug' into a long vowel by softening it. The uruks that form a uruu have the nature of generally being from the same family tree and sharing the same forefather as the forefather who is a member within this family tree. It is worth pointing out that the number of uruus that make up the Kyrgyz community is generally given as between 30 and 40. However, on this matter the accepted traditional and widespread view is that the number is 40 and that the 'Kyrgyz' name ('kîrk' meaning 40) is related to the 40 clan or 40 leader number.

During the Ottoman period, there was a structure above the nomadic clans and groups, from the standpoint of administrative and economic affairs. The basic criterion in this structure was the central administration giving a system to nomadic groups in the province, subprovince and district where they found themselves. In providing such a system the thinking was, of course, to keep the nomadic groups under supervision. In this re-

¹⁶ The word 'oba' is used in the forms 'obog', 'obug', 'omog' and 'omug' in Mongolian (Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, pp. 598, 611). For the etymology and usage of the word see E. V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskii Slovar Tyurkskikh Yazykov*, pp. 400-401.

In general, *Ichkilik*, which was used for Tüshtük Kyrgyz nomads in Kyrgyzstan's southern region, referred not to those that were in the center but rather to those *uruus* that were in the inside part of the region where the Kyrgyz nomads lived, in a geographical sense. In a similar naming context, there is a place geographically called *İçil* in the Mersin region of Anatolia and it makes one think about whether it ('iç') may have been applied in a way similar to the meaning of *Ichkilik* ('iç' means 'inside' in Turkish).

In the Ottoman community nomadic groups were known by the general names *Türkmen* and *Yörük*, at the overall level. In pre-Ottoman times the *Türkmen* name had an ethnic character but in the Ottoman period it gradually came to refer to the lifestyle of the nomadic groups, in a way similar to the *Yörük* name. After the first quarter of the 15th century, the *Yörük* name began to appear in sources and was a term that characterized the nomads' lifestyle. In this regard, during Ottoman times the same nomadic groups were sometimes called '*Türkmen*' and sometimes called '*Yörük*' and over time both words came to carry the same meaning. As for Kyrgyz nomads, we understand that '*ulut*' was above the two basic structures, known as *On Kanat* and *Sol Kanat*. In Turkish this term is rendered as '*ulus*' and in the classic Ottoman period, as seen by the examples of the *Bozulus*, *Karaulus* and *Yeniil ulusu*, it referred not to a 'nation' but rather to large nomadic groups that were formed from various clans or units. Essentially, among the Ottomans '*millet*' (nation) was used to refer to religious classes within the empire. At the beginning of the 20th century, though, we see that '*ulus*' was widely used to mean '*millet*' (nation).

In closing, we must state certain matters. It has been determined that among the nomads of Anatolia during Ottoman times and among the Kyrgyz nomads of Central Asia, there were bottom-to-top administrative and social structures, starting from '*aile*' and '*üi bülöö*', and that there were terms related to these structures. And although these structures and terms were more varied in the empire-sized geography of the Ottomans, they nevertheless overlapped at many points and, in fact, most of the terms were similar or the same, despite some nuances of meaning. This situation is important from the standpoint of showing the deep cultural ties between the nomad community of Anatolia during Ottoman times and the Kyrgyz, in fact the Central Asian, nomad community. In this regard, in order to better understand and present the cultural and civilized values related to the nomads of Anatolia and Central Asia, first, comparative studies should be undertaken to delve into key matters and, subsequently, this effort must be brought to a broader level.

Some New Findings and Views About 'Divan'*

One of the terms used during Ottoman period that had different meanings was 'divan'. In this regard, 'divan' could mean a formal government organ such as Divan-ı Hümayun (Imperial Council) and Beylerbeyi Divanı (Provincial Council), which made decisions concerning the administration of state affairs in the center and provinces; it could refer to a court, a meeting or a council; or it could mean a work compiled on any subject and something identified with said work. It is also noteworthy to point out that, along with the aforesaid meanings, 'divan' was also used from the earliest Ottoman times to refer to small military, administrative or economic units in certain areas, made up of a few villages or a few nomadic groups. This last meaning of the term 'divan' has been the subject of recent research from various angles, based on, in particular, archival documents concerning Ottoman Anatolia; and findings about its meaning and usage have been reported¹. In this context, we will try here to reexamine this last usage of the term 'divan', and to explore some new findings and appraisals of the term with regard to its meaning and usage as determined outside of Ottoman geography. In this regard, and in order to better understand the subject, we will first look at a 'divan' formed as a military, administrative and economic unit within Ottoman geography, examine its particulars and subsequently consider this term's meaning and usage as employed in Kyrgyzstan, well outside of Ottoman geography.

Units established under the name 'divan' during the Ottoman period appeared more frequently after the middle of the 15th century in the Tokat and Sivas regions of Rum province; in Bolu, Ordu and Samsun in the West and Mid-Black Sea regions; and in areas such as Kırşehir, Kayseri and Bozok in Central Anatolia. In this regard, to better understand the 'divan' units found in some research work conducted in the aforementioned areas, we must use a particular divan as an example and scrutinize it. For this purpose, 'Elmalu divanı' of Bendehor, located in the Ordu region of the year 1455, has been selected².

* It was presented as a paper to the *Eleventh International Congress of Social and Economic History of Turkey* (June 17-21, 2008, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey).

¹ See Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi (1455-1613)*, Ankara 1985, pp. 43-47; Mehmet Öz, *XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Canik Sancağı*, Ankara 1999, pp. 30-31.

² Bahaeddin Yediyıldız-Ünal Üstün, *Ordu Yöresi Tarihinin Kaynakları I: 1455 Tarihli Tahrir Defteri*, Ankara 1992, pp. 58-65.

Elmalu divanı had a center called ‘nefs-i Elmalu’. The number of villages tied to the center was four. Additionally, a person known as the ‘divanbaşı’ led the divan and his name was Seydi Ahmed Kethüda. This situation shows that a divan was located in a particular geographic area and that, administratively, it comprised a center and one or more dependent villages, with a ‘divanbaşı’ as the administrator. A noteworthy matter in a divan was the apportionment of the tax income of Elmalu center and the villages to the ‘timar’ (a ‘small military fief’ in Ottoman history). Elmalu’s tax revenue apportioned to the timar was split into two shares, belonging to Pir Ahmed veled-i Mahmud Ağa and to Divanbaşı Seydi Ahmed Kethüda, respectively. The fact that Divanbaşı Seydi Ahmed Kethüda was recorded here as ‘eşküncü’ shows that he had a military affiliation. This situation gives one the impression that units formed under the name ‘divan’ had a military character, as well as an administrative and economic one.

In the *tahrir defters* (cadastral survey records) it can be seen that right after the Ottomans took a region under their administration they did not make many changes to the administrative, military and economic arrangements made by their predecessors. If we focus on the fact that records of regions characterized as ‘divan’ were related to an early period like the mid-15th century, then this indicates that the units given the name divan reflect the populace and societal structures extant in the region prior to the Ottomans. In this regard, we understand that the units known as ‘divan’ that came to be formed in Ordu in 1455, more genuinely reflect the administrative structure of the Hacı Emiroğulları Beyliği (principality), which ruled this area before the coming of the Ottomans³. To put this another way, the small administrative, military and economic units referred to in archival records as divan were special units that reflected the traces of the structure that remained from earlier periods in the region. As far as is understood, when these units passed to the Ottomans they were first referred to with names such as ‘zaimlik’ (a military fief) or ‘zeamet’ or similar terminology, and subsequently called ‘nahiye’ or even ‘vilayet’. As a reflection of this situation, we see that after the Tanzimat (modernization and reformation period of the Ottoman government in 1839) ‘divan’ was an administrative unit made up of one or more villages within the administrative structure in rural areas. In this context, as the example of ‘Çavuşlar Divanı’ in Yörük district of Bolu province’s Viranşehir subprovince in 1844 shows⁴, while a divan was comprised of a number of villages most of the time the name of the

³ B. Yediyıldız, *Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi*, p. 46.

⁴ İlhan Şahin, “Anadolu’da Türk Yerleşmesi Sürecinde Safranbolu”, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler (Nomads in the Ottoman Empire)*, İstanbul 2006, p. 243. Here Çavuşlar village forms the center of the divan, which is also made up of the villages of İçciler, Köprübaşı and Tanrıvermişler villages.

divan came from the village at its center. The same situation applies to 'Bakras Divanı' in Düzce district of Bolu province⁵.

Early Ottoman records show a close relationship between 'divan' and 'bölük'. In this regard, some of units characterized as 'bölük' in the Ordu area in 1455 are seen to have been made up of villages tied directly to the 'bölük' for administrative purposes. Some *bölüks*, though, are referred to as sub-units of judicial divisions know by the name 'niyabet' (office of a deputy judge). Here various numbers of villages were tied to sub-units called 'bölük'. The most noteworthy point about *bölüks* formed in the area was that the administrator at the head of units with the name 'divan' was someone who came from within that bölük and held the title 'divanbaşı'. Also, the names of some bölük's directly carried the name of that leader, probably because of the nomadic origin of the people. The fact that the structures of 'bölük' and 'divan' are almost the same and that the head leader was called 'divanbaşı' signal that 'bölük' and 'divan' were used to mean the same thing⁶.

It is noteworthy that within the context of this close relationship between 'bölük' and 'divan', in Ottoman period 'bölük' referred directly to nomadic groups. In this regard, it must refer to an important nomadic group named Ulu Yörük that from early Ottoman times lived primarily in the Sivas and Tokat regions and a significant portion of this group extended as far as Central Anatolia and the central and western sections of Black Sea region. This large nomadic group, which reached a population of 100,000 at the end of the 16th century, had a traditional administrative and social structure with three main groupings called 'Orta Pare', 'Şark Pare' and 'Yüzde Pare'. Here 'pare' means a part of a whole or a group. The Kazakh community in Central Asia has a similar structure, with its three main groups called 'Uly Jüz', 'Orta Jüz' and 'Kishi Jüz'. One of the first things that catch one's attention here is that both the Ulu Yörük in Anatolia and the Kazakh community were comprised of three main groups. Another is that 'jüz' is not used to mean one hundred, but rather to mean group, like 'pare'. Yet another is that the 'uly' of 'Uly Jüz', which forms the Kazakh community, is the same name given to the important nomadic group Ulu Yörük in Anatolia; and that the 'orta' of 'Orta Jüz' is used to designate one of the member groups of Ulu Yörük. The similarity between the naming of groups that make up the Kazakh community and that of an important nomadic group in Anatolia makes one think that this points to a relationship between the two, at least as far as the tradition of assigning names is concerned.

⁵ BA, *Temettüat Defteri*, nr. 03470. Here Bakras Divanı has as its center Bakras village and the villages of Yahyalar and Akçaşehir are tied to the divan.

⁶ For further information on this subject see B. Yediylıdız, *Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi*, pp. 43-44.

With regard to the nomads known by the name Ulu Yörük in Ottoman period, it is noteworthy that these groups were found within the structures known as 'divan' and 'bölük', which were understood to be concerned with administrative and social structures, as much as land and economic systems. One sees that, within this structure, most of the nomadic groups that were members of Ulu Yörük were directly recorded as 'bölük', rather than as 'cemaat', which was often used to refer to nomadic groups in Ottoman period. The 'bölük' used here is understood to be used in the sense of 'divan'. In this regard, if one considers that the nomads' values of culture and civilization, as found in their traditional life-style, continued without much change then we can say that the small administrative, social and military structures called 'divan'-and added to this 'bölük'-were also used in the period before the Ottomans.

In the framework of these explanations then, one must understand the 'divan' seen in Anatolia from early Ottoman times not as a sub-village settlement, as we would perhaps characterize it in today's perspective, but rather as an administrative, social and economic unit whose roots come from before the Ottoman period and which in early Ottoman times were comprised of one or more villages or communities that had the nature of nomads.

It is rather startling to encounter 'divan', which we see in written sources in the geography of Anatolia from early Ottoman times, in today's Kyrgyzstan, which is so far away from the Ottoman world. When one refers to the area of Kyrgyzstan, though, it must not be thought of as a region whose history began solely with the Kyrgyz. It is understood that the Kyrgyz began to rule over this area as of the second half of the 15th century. We know that before the Kyrgyz migrated here to rule, the region and the people who lived in the region were under the rule of the Sakas, the Huns, the Köktürks, the Karakhanids and the Mongols. In fact, in this regard, before the Kyrgyz came to rule the area there were some nomadic Kyrgyz groups already there. The information concerning 'divan' encountered in Kyrgyz geography, which has this historical background, comes more from word-of-mouth sources and folkloric material. This situation signals that the term was used since long ago in the geography of Kyrgyzstan. A matter of importance here is that the term 'divan' is encountered among the Kyrgyz community in Kyrgyz geography but not in nearby regions where Uzbek and Kazakh are spoken.

In the framework of what has been explained so far, we see that the word 'divan' is written in the Kyrgyz language as 'duban'. But we also understand that the word has come to be spoken by the people as 'duan' or 'duwan'. Husain Karasaev, one of the leading experts on the Kyrgyz language, claims that 'duban' comes from the Chinese word 'duan'⁷. However,

⁷ Husain Karasaev, *Kamus Nama*, Bishkek 1996, p. 260.

it appears impossible for us to accept that 'duban' comes from the Chinese 'duan', in light of our current information. It must be stated, though, that there are a number of words in Chinese that have different meanings and come under the name 'duan'. One of these is 'di-duan', which sounds a lot like 'divan', and which is used to refer to a geographic region between to particular places⁸. In addition, Husain Karasaev has related 'duban' to the word 'aïmak', which is used to mean country, region or place⁹.

Among the Kyrgyz one does not find much information in written sources about 'duban' and its relationship to 'aïmak'. However, it may be possible to make some determinations about the matter as it applies to Kyrgyzstan's geography, where the society's practical and spiritual values have been orally created, used and preserved and which is essentially an open air museum as far as oral history is concerned. In this regard, in historical oral sources 'duban' has two meanings: 1) general meeting and gathering and 2) region.

As for the first meaning of 'duban', one can find some examples in Kyrgyz folklore literature. The best example of this is the statement '*Dubanda saïrap yrdasan / Turuptur köp el tang kalyp*'¹⁰ (When a poem is recited at the general meeting/ The people are awestruck). Clearly, here 'duban' means a general meeting.

Other than this meaning, it is noteworthy to point out that 'duban' is used in various ways to mean region. In this regard, it has been determined that the term was first used to refer to a large area. For example, in the Jusup Mamaï version of the Kyrgyz's world-famous Manas legend, when Sokso, who has come to fight Manas in a battle, is mentioned he is described this way: '*Alban duban kalky bar*' (Many people come to him from many regions). Similarly, when the Aksakal Koshoi is described the following statement is used: '*Alban duban kishi bar*' (Many people coming from many regions), so we can conclude that 'duban' has the meaning of region¹¹. The fact that this word appears in the Manas legend confirms that it has carried this meaning for a very long time. Additionally, we also find it in this proverb used by the people: '*Jeti dubandan kelgen konokdor*' (Visitors coming from seven regions). Here the first thing that comes to mind is that the words 'Jeti duban' may be used to refer to Kyrgyzstan's

⁸ Liu Wange and others, *Xinbianxiandaihanyu cidian*, Jilin University Press, 2005, p. 254.

⁹ In a future study we will take up more broadly the relationship between 'Duban (Divan)' and Aïmak (Oymak)'.

¹⁰ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiï slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, Frunze-Moskva 1965, I, p. 200.

¹¹ Jusup Mamaï, *Manas*, Şincian (Xinjiang) El Basmasy, Urumqi 2004, p. 94 and 243.

seven provinces. However, it is understood that the meaning here is not really 'seven duban' or 'seven provinces' but refers instead to visitors from all over, the seven climates or the four corners of the world. Similarly, Toktogul, a famous Kyrgyz poet who lived from 1864 to 1936, says in a couplet from one of his poems: '*Dubandy buzgan jorgo elem / Topor boldum basyksyz*'¹². If we expand this couplet a bit in English the following meaning results: 'Long ago across a wide region I was someone known and respected by everyone, a model horse known as *jorgo* who ran and walked very well / Now I have become someone no one knows or asks about, a horse that can not walk known as *topor* that's a model for laziness.' Of course, here Toktogul's use of the term 'duban' does not apply to just one region but instead to a broad geographic area.

Along with the use of 'duban' with regard to broad geographic regions, it is noteworthy that it is used to refer to smaller geographic areas, as well. In this regard, an old Kyrgyz folk song has the words: '*Kazakh Kyrgyz dubandan / Karasam tappaıym sendeıdi*'¹³ (In the Kazakh Kyrgyz area / If I search for someone like you I do not find her). It is understood from the words that 'duban' is used here to mean the regions where the Kazakh and Kyrgyz live. Besides this, it must be pointed out that the phrase '*Alty duban Alash el*' used by the people, albeit sparingly, came into existence either because of the six regions of the Alash Orda State formed from Kazakh groups (*jüz*) in 1917-1920, or from the six regions where Kazakh and Kyrgyz live together. In addition, it should also be stated that the sayings used among Kyrgyz people: '*Bir duban elge danky chykkán*' (Someone who lives in a duban is well known by the people) and '*Dubandan chykkán külük*' (A horse that came from a region and runs well), show that 'duban' is used to mean region¹⁴. Besides all of these, in the statement '*Karakol dubanyňa Naryn da karaı turgan*'¹⁵ (Naryn is included in Karakol's area), the statement is being made that the 'duban' has the character of an administrative region similar to a province, the example being Karakol and Naryn, two important population centers in Kyrgyzstan. In this context, it may be possible to frequently encounter statements reflecting *duban*'s meaning as region, such as Karakol dubany, Naryn dubany, Isyk-Köl dubany and Chuı dubany, in oral research studies made among Kyrgyz people older than 70, in particular.

In the framework of what has been said above, it must be stated that the terms 'divan', encountered in Ottoman times, and 'duban', encountered in Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia, are the same. The fact that the word is writ-

¹² K. K. Yudakhin, I, p. 200.

¹³ H. Karasaev, p. 260.

¹⁴ K. K. Yudakhin, I, p. 200.

¹⁵ H. Karasaev, p. 260.

ten as 'duban' in Kyrgyz and pronounced by people as 'duan' or 'duwan' must indicate that the tradition of oral history has been preeminent for a long time and that rounded vowel sounds are used more often in the Kyrgyz language. Another aspect worth noting here is that in oral history sources among the Kyrgyz, 'duban' is used to mean a few things with regard to breadth. One of these is meaning an area larger than that of a country, geographically speaking. Another is meaning to encompass the entirety of a nation's geography. Yet another is to describe geographic regions close to provincial borders within a country or nation. These meanings indicate that among the Kyrgyz 'duban' referred to a geographic area larger than the unit called 'divan' that was encountered in the north Black Sea area, primarily the Sivas and Tokat regions of Anatolia, in early Ottoman times. In this regard, a matter that requires some study is how the term 'duban' came to be used by the Kyrgyz and then found life in oral history. While it is not possible to say anything definite on this subject, the fact that the word lives on in oral history and folklore indicates that it is based on tradition and that it is a trace of old culture. In 1991 when Kyrgyzstan declared its independence, some historians proposed that instead of using the Russian 'oblast' to mean province, the term 'duban', with its ancient roots, should be used. However, the proposal was not accepted. Today Kyrgyzstan's provincial administrative units Chuï, Isyk-Köl, Naryn, Talas, Jalalabat, Osh and Batken are known as oblasts.

‘Turluk’: The Story of a Nomadic Tent, From Central Asia to Anatolia*

Introduction

The most important feature of the nomadic peoples that constituted an important element of society in Anatolia during and before Ottoman times was their adherence to the physical and spiritual cultural values that identified them. In this regard, it is worth noting that they brought the lifestyle they lived and the basic cultural elements of that lifestyle with them from the middle of Asia to Anatolia and, in fact, as far as the Balkans. Foremost among these basic cultural elements were certainly their homes, known under the name ‘çadır’ (tent) in Anatolian Turkish. The specialty of these types of homes was that they were easily erected, taken down and transported by the nomadic groups which, because of their lifestyle, might change locations twice, three or even four times in a year. In this article, we will consider the ‘bozüi’, used by Kyrgyz nomads, as an example of the dwellings of nomads in Central Asia and then take up the ‘turluk’ tent used by some Yörük groups in Western Anatolia, focusing on the relationships between the ‘turluk’ and the Central Asian nomadic groups’ tents. However, in order to better understand the subject, first information will be provided about tents, their types and differences, as used in Turkish, along with information about the ‘bozüi’ and ‘bozüi’-type tents, their basic components and peculiarities, pitching a ‘bozüi’, and its overall and internal design.

Tents and Tent Types

Whether the word ‘çadır’ (tent) comes from the verb root ‘çat-’ in Old Turkic, which means to unite, to put together, or whether it passed to Persian as ‘çetr’, coming from the Sanskrit word ‘çattra’, meaning umbrella and shadow, is not quite clear¹. In this connection, the word ‘ev’ (home) as written as ‘eb’ in Runic letters in Old Turkic², calls to mind the shape of a tent³ and makes one think about the possible relationship between ‘ev’ (home) and ‘çadır’ (tent).

* It was presented as a paper at the *Xth International Congress of the Economic and Social History of Turkey* (September 28-October 1, 2005, Venice, Italy).

¹ See Andreas Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, İstanbul-Wien 2002, I, pp. 462, 481, 500-501.

² Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 2010, dictionary-index, pp. 136-137, see ‘eb’.

³ K. Sh. Tabaldiev, *Drevnie Pamyatniki Tyan-Shanya*, Bishkek 2011, p. 106.



‘eb’ written with Runik letters



A model of Bozüi in a exhibition

In general, in Anatolian Turkish ‘çadır’ is the word used for all kinds of tents. Additionally, in Ottoman archival documents, in particular, the word ‘hayme’ is used as an equivalent for ‘çadır’. Most probably, Ottoman clerks preferred to use ‘hayme’, which is an Arabic word, in the documents. Çadır and hayme, both of which appear in written sources in Anatolia, are the general names for the homes in which the Yörük live.

The tents of nomadic groups in Central Asia have particular names. For example, there are generally two types of tents used by Kyrgyz nomads. The more famous of these is known by the name ‘bozüi’. The other has the name ‘alaçık’. The ‘boz’ of ‘bozüi’ refers to the tent’s color, whereas the ‘üi’ means ‘ev’ (home). Among the Kazakhs the name given to their tents is ‘kiiz üi’ and ‘kiiz’ has the same meaning that ‘keçe’ (felt) has in Anatolian Turkish. The tents of the Tuvas are known by the name ‘kidis ög’ and ‘terbe ög’.

The origins and historical development of ‘bozüi’ and ‘bozüi’-type tents are not completely understood. The ideas put forth on this matter are quite different from one another. In this context, there are those who assert that the roots of bozüi-type tents come from the type of tent called ‘chum’ found in Siberia; those who take them back to bronze-age tribes and the Scythians; those who claim that, according to archeological and written sources, they came from the Huns; and those who state that they spread among the nomadic tribes in Mongolia, Afghanistan and Iran that were formed from the Turkic tribes of Central Asia⁴. But despite the differing

⁴ For more information concerning ‘bozüi’ or ‘bozüi’-type traditional dwellings and the roots of these tent types see N. Haruzin, “Istoriya razvitiya zhilishcha u kochevykh i polukochevykh tyurkskikh i mongolskikh narodnostei Rossii”, *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie, Izdaniye Etnograficheskogo Otdela, Imperatorskago- Obshestva Lyubitelei Estestvoznaniya Antropologii i Etnografii, sostoyashchego pri Moskovskom Universitete*, I, Moskva 1896, pp. 1-53; M. T. Aitbaev, *Istoriko-kulturnye*

ideas put forth about the origins and historical development of these types of tents, one must consider that they emerged as an important creation of nomadic civilization, that they developed from the effect of interaction between nomadic tribes into today's authentic form and structure, and that they were spread by the nomads to the farthest reaches of Asia, east and west.

Like those of the Central Asian nomadic groups, Anatolian nomads are known to have special names for their tents. It is noteworthy, however, that these names are those of tent types that have been rarely mentioned in written sources. We understand that in identifying these various types the tent's shape, material and parts play an important role. In this regard, the tents of a significant number of Anatolian nomads are known by names such as 'ev', 'kara ev', 'top ev', 'topağ ev', 'topak', 'derim', 'derim evi', 'çatma', 'çatma ev', 'alacık', 'alacuk', 'alaçık', 'alaçuk', 'alaçık', 'alaycık', 'alayçık', ve 'turluk'⁵. The fact that these tent types are rarely found in written sources must mean that these tent types were, in the course of history, named by the nomads themselves or by outsiders and then settled into useage with time.

Tents known as 'top ev', 'topağ ev' or 'topak' have been named mostly based on their shape. 'Derim' or 'derim evi' tents have names that reflect the ease with which they can be set up, taken down, gathered up and transported⁶. 'Çatma' or 'çatma ev' tents are no doubt tents whose skeleton is made up of tied-together tree branches that can be covered over. 'Kara ev'

svyazi kirgizskogo i russkogo narodov (po materialam Issık-Kul'skoı oblasti Kirgizskoy SSR), Frunze 1957, pp. 99-110; E. E. Kuzmina-V. A. Livshits, "Eshche raz o proishozhdenii yurty A. Mamytova", *Proshloe Srednei Azii (Arkheologia, numizmatika i epigrafika, etnografiya)*, red. V. A. Ranov, Dushanbe 1987, pp. 243-250; A. Mamytova, "Vidy traditsionnykh zhilishch u severnykh kyrgyzov v kontse XIX-v nachale XX veka", *Etnosotsialnye i etnokulturnye protsessy v Tsentralnoi Azii: Istoriya i sovremennost, Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, posvyashchennoi pamyati uchenogo-etnografa Kaken Mambetalievoi*, Bishkek 2010, p. 183.

⁵ For more information about tent names uses by various Anatolian Yörük groups, see Peter Alford Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types in the Middle East*, I/1, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 478, 494-495, 498-499, 501; Andreas Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, İstanbul-Wien 2002, I, p. 544; *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü*, editor: Cem Dilçin, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1983, pp. 6, 51, 65, 125. Likewise, for the historical ties of these types of tents to Central Asia, see Peter Alford Andrews, "Öy, Alaçık and Topaq Ev: Historical Interconnections in the Türkmen Tradition of Tentage", *Nomad Tent Types*, I/1, pp. 507-520.

⁶ The statement 'kandilcilerin derim evi gibi dikilen derik yakan kandilcinin isimleri Hacı Selim neferen 42' related to the circumcision feast of Mehmed, son Ottoman Sultan Murad III in 1582 (Topkapı Sarayı Museum Archives, D. 10022.0001.00, 8b), indicates that the tents called 'derim evi' used by the Yörüks were known both in Topkapı Saray, the administrative center of the Ottoman State, and the capital İstanbul.

and 'alacak' tents get their name from the color of their wool-made or hair-made covers. 'Turluk', though, is a name given to a tent whose main portion is covered with felt (keçe) made of sheep's wool.

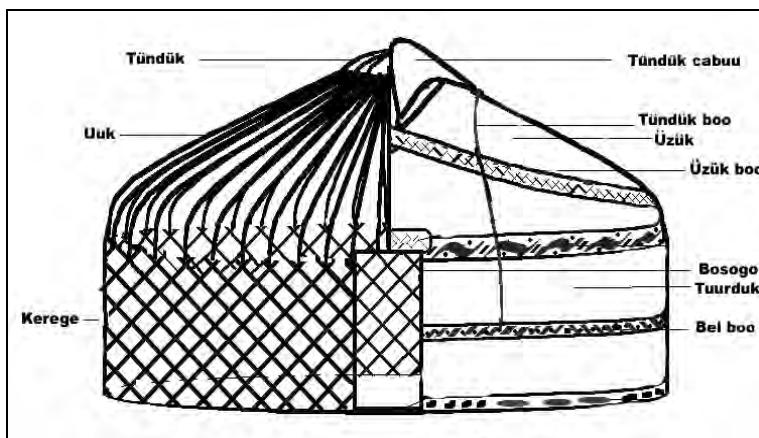
The tent types of Anatolia known by the names 'top ev', 'topağ ev', 'topak', 'derim', 'derim evi' and 'turluk' cover a wide area from a geographical standpoint. These tent types were generally found in use among groups known as 'Yörük' during Ottoman times in west, central and south Anatolia. Although some of these tents were known by different names, comparisons made on the basis of shape, material and parts will show whether or not they overlap with one another. The most noteworthy aspect about these tents is that the names 'top ev', 'topağ ev', 'topak', 'derim ev' and 'derim evi' emerged from Anatolia. With regard to the emergence of 'turluk' in Anatolia, one must look to Central Asia, the real center of nomadic life, and in particular focus on the example of the tents on Kyrgyz nomads, in order to better understand the matter.

Sections and Particulars of 'Bozüi'-type Tents

The material used for the tent known among the Kyrgyz by the name 'bozüi' generally consists of wood known as 'söök', felt, known as 'kiiz', a thin plant of the reed type known as 'chiï', and timber ties known as 'boo'. The sections of the 'bozüi' made from wood form the basic skeleton of the tent. Among the Kyrgyz these sections are known by the names 'bosogo' for the 'bozüi's entrance door, 'kerege' for the wall sections, 'uuk' for the part that joins to the roof section and 'tündük' for the uppermost section. These names, when compared to those used by the Kazakhs for their 'kiiz üi' tents are, in order, 'kerege', 'bosaga', 'uuk' and 'shanyrag'.

'Kerege' and 'uuk', which form the basic skeleton of the 'bozüi', are made from trees which are known generally as 'tal' and which grow along river banks and in marshy areas. According to the special nature of the place where they grow, these trees are called 'köktal', 'kyzyltal' and 'karatal'. These trees are cut when they are two or three years old in the spring or summer, calling to mind the Anatolian proverb *'ağaç yaşken eğilir'* (train a child while his mind is pliant). Their branches and bark are then taken and bent into the desired form. If the 'kerege' is to be made from these trees, the places where they are to be joined are heated and pierced, then tied together to form a net. These joining places are united with ties called 'kök' or 'kerege topçu'. Here 'topçu' has the meaning of 'button'. 'Kök' or 'kerege topçu' are made by cutting leather straps into ties. So that they are sturdy they are first softened in water and pierced and then tied together at the top. When wet 'kök' or 'kerege topçu' dry they become as sturdy as leather cord. Each part of a kerege put together like this is called 'kanat'.

The kerege has a special feature such that the kanats are stretched and opened when the 'bozüi' is being set up and then closed as the 'bozüi' is loaded onto the camel. That's why this important section of the tent is known in the Kyrgyz language, and in fact in the Kazakh language, as well, as 'kerege', since it has this special opening-closing feature. In a normal bozüi there are at least four kanats. The number of *kanats* can even be six, eight, ten or twelve, depending on the size of the family and its economic situation. The largest and widest bozüi has twelve *kanats*.



Sections of a Bozüi⁷

As the bozüi is being set up three sections of the kerege are pegged down into the ground. These are known as 'ayak' (foot). The name 'bash' (head) is given to the upper part. Since the openings in the kerege resemble a fishing net they are called 'köz' (eye). At the top of the kerege the 'uuk' links the kerege to the tündük. Above the 'uuk' is the *bozüi's* sacred place, the 'tündük'⁸.

The 'bosogo' of the bozüi is the name given to the lower entrance section of the door. The bosogo is also known as a border. When someone enters the bozüi from outside he must avoid stepping on the bosogo and jump over it. If the person steps on the bosogo then he is considered a rival to the bozüi's owner or even as an enemy. On each side of the bosogo are two pieces of wood that hold the door and these are called 'bosogo tayak'. The area above the door is known as the 'bash bosogo'. The door is generally known by the name 'eshik'. Among Anatolian Yörüks, the door is gener-

⁷ Baktybek İsakov, *XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Kırgızların Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi: Sayak Uruusu (Boyu) Örneđi*, Bishkek 2009, p. 100.

⁸ For more information on the structure of the 'bosogo', 'kerege', 'uuk', 'tündük' and other sections that make up the basic parts of the 'bozüi' in Kyrgyz tradition, as well as information on setting up, decorating and camel-loading a 'bozüi', see Amantur Akmatalliev, *Boz üi*, Frunze 1982.

ally called ‘kapi’ and sometimes ‘eshik’, while the lower part of the door is known as ‘alt eshik’ and the upper part as ‘üst eshik’.



The bozüks of Kyrgyz nomads side by side with nature in Son-Köl summer pastures.

In the ‘bozüi’, the name given to the thin poles that connect the ‘kerege’ to the ‘tündük’ are called ‘uuk’. Uuks are made from trees given the general name ‘tal’, from which the kerege is also made⁹. There are 10 uuk links for every kerege kanat, so if there are four kerege kanats then there will be 40 uuks. In Anatolia, the Yörüks generally call the ‘uuk’ or ‘uğ’ and in some regions it is known as ‘buğ’. One of the other most basic parts of the bozüi is the one named ‘tündük’. But unlike the kerege, which is made from ‘kökdal’, the ‘tündük’ is made from a pine tree known as ‘archa’. For its construction, the archa wood is soaked in water for a few days and formed into a hoop while it is soft. In a four-kanat bozüi there will be forty holes in the side of the ‘tündük’ where the forty uuk points will pass, enabling the ‘tündük’ to stay aloft. The names ‘düinük’, and sometimes ‘dünlük’, are used for ‘tündük’ with regard to Yörük tents in Anatolia.

Erecting a ‘Bozüi’

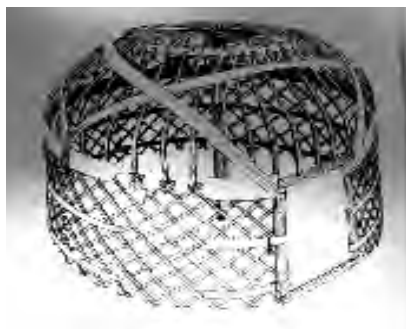
The word used among the Kyrgyz community for setting up a ‘bozüi’ is ‘tigilet’. In other words, a ‘bozüi’ is not set up but, rather, erected. But this erecting is accomplished with the help of family members and neighbors. To do this, first the ‘kerege’, made from the wooden material of the ‘bozüi’ known as ‘söök’, is erected. After this, the ‘uuk’s are tied to the ‘kerege’. Above the ‘uuk’s the ‘tündük’, the most sacred part of the ‘bozüi’, is put in place. Subsequently, ‘chiï’, a plant substance like a reed, is placed over the wooden skeleton. Felt, made from sheeps wool, is then spread over as a cover. The felt that covers the ‘kerege’ is known as ‘tuurduk’, that

⁹ E. Mahova, “Uzornaya Sinovka”, *Narodnoye dekorativno-prikladnoye iskusstvo Kyrgyzov*, Frunze 1962, pp. 34-36.

which covers the uuks is 'üzük' and the felt over the 'tündük' is called 'tündük cabuu'. At the corners of each felt covering are strings called 'boo' and these are tied tightly to the kerege and the uuks. This is how the bozüi's erection is completed.



Setting up a Kyrgyz Bozüi
(Photo: B. İsakov)



An Anatolian Yurt
(Topak or Topak Ev)¹⁰

For the Kyrgyz community a 'bozüi' is a world unto itself. The 'eshik' (entrance area) and the 'tündük' are open to the world. Just as the sun is considered sacred for the world, so, too, the 'tündük' is the sacred place of the 'bozüi'. The area around the 'tündük' is considered as the endlessness of the world. Among the Kyrgyz, because the erecting of a bozüi is considered sacred a prayer is spoken-'*Jany tigilgen örgögö bata*' (prayer for the newly erected bozüi)-as follows¹¹:

Jany örgöönün
Jakkany archa bolsun
Jaıylyp koroosu malgo tolsun

Tündükün tünörbösün
Kemegen kemibesin
Uukun uçtu bolsun
Keregen keptuu bolsun
Kelinin eptüü bolsun

New bozüi
May the burnt wood be juniper
May its 'koro' ¹² be wide and well-stocked

May the 'tündük' be bright
May the stove always be smoking
May the 'uuk's point be sharp
May the 'keregen' be straight
May the bride be capable

The tradition among the Kazakhs regarding the structure and erection of tents is just about the same as it is in the Kyrgyz community. In fact, similar to the tradition in the Kyrgyz community, in Kazakh society the elders and close relatives of newly-married couples often make the same wish:

Tikken otaularynnyn
Shanyragy biik
Bosagasy berik
Keregesi ken

The tent you plant
'Shanyragy' high-free, grand
'Bosagasy' sturdy-nest stable unshakable
'Keregesi' broad-broad house, heartwarming

¹⁰ Andrews, I/2, a 1.

¹¹ Kadyr Koshaliyev, *Aruuluk aalamdy saktait*, Bishkek 2007, p. 195

¹² Meaning 'havlu' or 'avlu' (courtyard).

Terezesi ten bolsyn Window equal-çiftler¹³ compatible, equal

It is understood that the tent, the home, should be a symbol of the sacredness of the family.

The Internal Arrangement of a ‘Bozüi’

The internal arrangement and use of the ‘bozüi’ in the Kyrgyz community and the ‘kiiz üi’ in Kazakh society have traditional uniqueness unto themselves. In this regard, the places for the old and the young, for men and women, for girls and brides within the ‘bozüi’ are specific. When one enters the ‘bozüi’ the place just opposite the entrance is called the ‘tör’. The place is the most respected and is reserved for the mother and father. In back of this area is where items known as ‘jük’ are placed. Foremost among these items are the ‘sandyk’ (chest), the ‘töshök’ (mattress), which is put on top of the ‘sandyk’, and the ‘juurkan’ (quilt). Within the bozüi’s internal arrangement, the most respected place is the ‘tör’. In this regard, the right side of the ‘bozüi’ is reserved for the woman and it is known as ‘epchi jak’. ‘Ebchi’ and ‘epchi’ are found in Yenisey inscriptions that use Köktürk letters. The words are formed by adding the ‘+çı’ suffix to the word ‘eb’, which has the meaning of house and tent. This suffix creates names that relate to a particular profession or a continually performed function¹⁴. In the Kyrgyz language ‘jak’ has the meaning of ‘taraf’ (side) so ‘epchi jak’ means the right side of the house reserved for the woman. This is where the woman’s sandyk, personal items, clothes and kitchen gear are placed. And since the left side of the bozüi is reserved for the man of the house and it is called ‘er jak’. Here ‘er’ means ‘adam’ or ‘erkek’ (man), as seen in Orkhon inscriptions¹⁵, and ‘jak’ equates to side. Consequently, ‘er jak’ refers to the side of the ‘bozüi’ reserved for the man. Here is where the horse harness, sword, clothes and personal effects of the man of the house are kept. Such an arrangement within a bozüi can sometimes accommodate 20-25 people.

Turluk: Its Emergence in Anatolia

In shape, ‘bozüi’ and ‘bozüi’-type tents generally resemble the Yörük’s ‘top ev’, ‘topağ ev’, ‘topak’, ‘topak ev’, ‘derim’ and ‘derim evi’ found in Central and Western Anatolia. The wall portion known as ‘kerege’ in a ‘bozüi’ is called a ‘derim’ and sometimes a ‘kanat’ in these types of tents. By saying that the ‘derim’ resembles the kerege, with regard to shape and structure, one clearly understands that it is easily folded and

¹³ The newly-married girl and boy.

¹⁴ For the etymology and meaning of the word ‘epchi’ or ‘ebchi’ see Nurdin Useev, “Köktürk Harfli Yenisey Yazıtlarındaki Kadını Bildiren Kelimelerin Anlamına Göre Eski Türklerde Kadın İmajı”, *Dil Araştırmaları*, no 11, Güz 2012, pp. 58-61-62.

¹⁵ Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, p. 139, see ‘er’.

gathered up. Each part of a 'derim' or 'kanat' is generally called 'kanat', as is the case with a bozüi. The leather ties called 'kök' that secure the links of a kerege are known as 'kök', 'kökleme' and 'sırım' in Yörük tents. The part of the 'derim' or 'kanat' that goes in the ground is called, as in the case of the bozüi's kerege, 'ayak' (foot), and the upper part is called 'bash' (head). The spaces inside a 'derim' are called 'gözenek', springing from the word 'köz' used for the bozüi's kerege¹⁶.

The felt that covers the 'derim' or 'kanat', used instead of 'kerege' by the Yörüks in Anatolia, is called 'yan eri' and sometimes 'turluk'. The 'uuk' of bozüis is mostly called 'uğ' or 'buğ' by the Yörüks and the felt that goes on top of the 'uğ' or 'buğ' is called 'boğaz keçesi' (throat felt), 'üznük, üzlük' or 'serpmec'. Of these, 'üznük' or 'üzlük' are clearly related to the word 'üzük' of the 'bozüi'. 'Tündük cabuu', the word for the covering over the 'tündük' in a 'bozüi', is known among the Yörüks or Anatolia as 'depelik' (tepelik-crest), indicating that the word is related to the 'tündük' occupying the uppermost part of the 'bozüi'.

With regard to the emergence of the tent called 'turluk' among the Yörüks of Anatolia, it is worth reviewing the felt known by the name 'tuurduk', which covers the wall part known as 'kerege' in a 'bozüi'. The concept of 'tuur' in the Kyrgyz language, 'tuyr' in Kazakh, 'dur' in Turkmen and 'tur' in the vernacular of Anatolian Turkish is very probably related to 'turug', which is found in Turkish language historical sources (Yenisay inscriptions, Uighur written texts, *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* and *Kutadgu Bilig*) and is used to mean 'içinde oturlan yer' (where one rests), 'yerleşim yeri' (settlement), 'çadır' (tent), 'ev' (house), 'mesken' (dwelling), 'mera' (pasture) and 'otlak' (grassy area)¹⁷. In addition to the known meaning for the verb 'tur-', in Old Turkic it had meaning such as 'çadır kur-', 'ev yap-' and 'mesken yap-'¹⁸. In this regard, the word 'turug', which can mean 'çadır', 'ev', 'mesken', 'mera' and 'otlak', is created by adding the structure suffix (-ug) to the verb 'tur-'.

In the course of the historic development of Turkish, the conceptual function 'turug' became the conceptual function 'turuglag' or 'turuglug' by being used together with the /+luk/ ending (morpheme), which makes a noun from a noun¹⁹. During this aforementioned process, in the structure of the word 'turuglag' first the '-g-' at the end of 'turug' was dropped (g->-O)

¹⁶ A. Akmatyaliyev, "On eki kanat bozüi", *Zaman Kyrgyzstan Gazetasy*, Bishkek 1994, no. 69.

¹⁷ See Cengiz Alyılmaz, *Eski Türkçenin Lügati*, Erzurum 1988, p. 89; Cengiz Alyılmaz, *Eski Türkçenin Söz Varlığının Düz ve Ters Dizimi*, Ankara 2004, p. 312; V. M. Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar*, Leningrad 1969, p. 588.

¹⁸ V. M. Nadelyaev and others, *Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar*, pp. 586-587.

¹⁹ C. Alyılmaz, *Düz ve Ters Dizimi*, pp. 312, 504.

and the word's 'turuluk' form appeared; subsequently, the unstressed '-u-' lost its place as an unmarked morpheme (-u->O-) and the word returned to its 'tur' form. The result of this was that the aforementioned conceptual function (tur) came to be used, with minor phonetic changes, in the Kyrgyz language as 'tuur', in Kazakh as 'tuyr', in Turkmen as 'dur' and in the case of Anatolian Turkish 'tur'. Similarly, the word 'tuur' in Kyrgyz has come to mean a place where a person lives, in the sense of both the place where hunting birds like 'bürküt' (eagle) perch and rest and in the meaning of the proverb '*tuugansyz bolsom da, tuurum bekem*' (even if I'm forlorn, the place I stay at is dependable).²⁰ The Kazakh word 'tugyr' means much the same as the Kyrgyz word: 1) the resting place of hunting birds, 2) support and foundation put under something²¹.

When it comes to the 'turuglag' or 'turuglug' conceptual function, the word used today in Kyrgyz is 'tuurduk', in Kazakh 'tuyrlyk', in Turkmen 'durluk' and in Anatolian Turkish 'turluk'. In Kyrgyz the word means the felt that covers the 'kerege', which is the main skeleton of the tent²²; in Kazakh it refers to the felt covering over the side portions of the tent called 'kiiz ü'²³; in Turkmen it means the felt that covers the main skeleton of the tent called 'öy'²⁴; and in Anatolian Turkish it means both the felt covering the tent and the tent itself. The word used as 'tuurga' in Mongolian refers to the felt covering the tent known as 'ger' in this language and also to the sides and skeleton of the tent²⁵.

Conclusion

In the context of this information, the felt known by the name 'tuurduk' covering the 'kerege', which forms the most basic part of the tent known as 'bozüü' among the Kyrgyz of Central Asia, is known as 'tugyrlyk' in Kazakh, as 'durluk' in Turkmen and as 'tuurga' in Mongolian. The version of this word as used in Anatolia is 'turluk'. This term refers to the felt that covers the main section of tents used by many Yörük group in West Anatolia, just like the nomadic groups in Central Asia. In this regard, though, nomadic groups like Yağcı Bedir, Karakeçili and Bekdik also use

²⁰ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, II, Moskva 1965, p. 273, see 'tuur'.

²¹ See Kenan Koç-Ayabek Bayniyazov-Vehbi Başkapan, *Kazak Türkçesi-Türkiye Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Türkistan 2003, p. 519.

²² K. K. Yudakhin, II, p. 274.

²³ K. Koç-A. Bayniyazov-V. Başkapan, *Kazak Türkçesi*, p. 518.

²⁴ Ya. R. Vinnikov, "Sotsialisticheskoe pereustroistvo khozyaistva i byta Daïhan Maryïskoï oblasti Turkmenskoï SSR", *Sredneaziatskii etnograficheskii sbornik*, I, Moscow 1954, pp. 46-47.

²⁵ B. Bazylhan, *Mongol-Kazak Tol' (Mongolşa-Kazakşa Sözdik)*, Ulaanbaatar-Ölgii 1984, p. 482.

‘Turluk’ and ‘Turluk ev’ as the basic name for their tents. Thusly, the basic concept and conceptual function concerning tents from internal Asia has come to refer to both the felt that covers the tents in Anatolia, and along the Mediterranean coast, and to the tents themselves. Another matter that must be stated in this regard is that the tent types of the Yörüks, known by the names ‘top ev’, ‘topağ ev’, ‘topak’, ‘derim ev’ and ‘derim ev’, originated in Central Asia, from the standpoint of their basic sections and forms.

Terms for Trade and Craft Sectors: The Example of Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish*

It is difficult to say at present that terms for the trade and craft sectors in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish have been presented comparatively. The reasons for this are the roles played by the spread of the people and tribes within the Turkic language group across a broad geography, the establishment of states at different times and in different places, and the lack of close relations between them in political, social, economic spheres over a long period of time. But with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new independent states in Central Asia, the importance of comparative studies waiting to be conducted in the field of social sciences, particularly language and literature, became apparent. For this reason, we would like to take a comparative bird's eye view of certain names and terms related to trade and craft that are used in Kyrgyz by the Kyrgyz community, which has transported their cultural and civilized values over the course of history without much change, by comparing them with the names and terms used in Anatolian Turkish. Such a comparative view will be helpful in better understanding the basic relations and ties concerning both Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish, and the cultural and civilized values of peoples at the easternmost and westernmost points of Asia.

In order to better understand the subject within the framework described, we should make a couple of points. One of these is the fact that varied and broad trade and craft sectors never developed in the Kyrgyz community as history proceeded. The most important reason for this is that, like other nomadic peoples, nomadism was established in the Kyrgyz community around the triangle of 'mankind', 'nature' and 'animals' and, consequently, economic activities and related fields developed mostly in connection with raising livestock. Conversely, production in agricultural and settled communities was more varied and greater, resulting in broader and more differentiated trade and craft sectors. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there were not any basic words or terms relating to the trade and craft sectors in the Kyrgyz community. In this regard, there are many terms

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used in the trade and craft sectors in today's Kyrgyz community. A significant portion of these terms - even though some of the terms' roots come from other languages - should be thought of as common cultural and civilized values formed and used within an historical period as the joint values of many peoples, primarily Turkish, and transported with migrations from the far east of Asia to the far west of the continent.

Of course, identifying and providing all the words and terms connected with trade and craft sectors in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish here would go far beyond the scope of this paper. In this regard, we have focused on the words and terms of these languages or tongues and pursued the following method: first, we identified the words and terms commonly used primarily in the trade and craft sectors, regardless of the degree of difference, from the standpoint of phonology and morphology, or in other words, sound and form; next, we classified them according to commercial place, product, manufactured product and profession and then provided explanatory information about each in its turn. However, we did not focus on the origin and etymology of these words and terms since each one could very well be the subject of research in and of itself.

Currency Units and Commercial Places

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
akcha	akça (akçe)	silver coin/money
ashkana	aşhane-aşevi	restaurant/soup
bazar	pazar (bazar)	market/bazaar
chach tarach	berber	barber shop
dükön	dükkân	shop
kerbensaraï	kervansaray	caravanserai
magazin	mağaza	store
malbazarı	malpazarı	animal market
suluuluk salonu	kuaför	hairstylist

When trade and craft are mentioned the first things that come to mind are no doubt currency units and trade places. In this regard, in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish one encounters certain basic words related to trade places, the value of goods in these trade places and the currency units that have value in the buying and selling of these goods. 'Akça'¹ is noteworthy among these words because 'akça' essentially means 'money' and was

¹ For the meaning and etymology of 'akça', which in its broadest sense means money, silver coin, see E.V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskii Slovar Tyurkskikh Yazykov*, Moskva 1974, pp. 120-121. Also see Nadalyaev and others, *Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar*, Leningrad 1961, p. 48.

widely used. The word is formed from the Turkish ‘ak’, which means white, and the diminutive suffix ‘-ça’ and is used as an adjective like ‘büyükçe’ (rather large) and ‘tuzluca’ (rather salty)². Today in Kyrgyz ‘akcha’ does not mean money with a specific value but rather means money in a general sense, as in the value of an item or as in ‘akcha almashtyruu’ (money exchange). This does not mean, however, that akcha was not used in previous periods. For example, the phrase ‘*bir chykym akcha*’ (one outlay akcha) is found on the face of a coin from Yenisey in the Tang Dynasty period of 8th century China³, which must show the fundamental historical place the akça maintained among the Turks. In this regard, it is rather significant that the akça was used as a money unit among the Ottomans for centuries. Calling this money unit, which was cut from silver metal, akça likely stems from its whitishness, as opposed to the yellow color of gold, as is understood from the proverb ‘*ak akça kara gün içindir*’ (a white akça is for a black day)⁴. The aforementioned matters are important from the standpoint of reevaluating the ‘akça’, which has had a particular affect on Turkish economic life.



Tashrabat Caravanserai in Naryn Province, Kyrgyzstan

With regard to the places where the goods, items or food products which gained value as akcha in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish were bought and sold, the foremost among these was the place known by the name ‘kerbensarai’ or ‘kervansaray’ (caravanserai). Generally, the caravanserais were located on main commercial roadways and played an important role

² See Andreas Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, İstanbul-Wien 2002, I, pp. 122-124.

³ Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, Ankara 1994, p. 362.

⁴ Tuncer Baykara, “Akça Deyimi Hakkında”, *Uluslararası Osmanlı Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, İzmir 8-10 Nisan 1999, pp. 25-26.

not just within one country but in international trade. In this regard, there were many caravanserais located at main intersections along the historic Silk Road that stretched from the Great Wall of China to interior Anatolia. One of these caravanserais in Eastern Asia was the Tashrabat caravanserai, located in Kyrgyzstan near the border with China. Among the caravanse-rais in Anatolia, Asia's westernmost point, we can give as an example the Kesikköprü caravanserai built near Kırşehir in Anatolia after the middle of the 13th century. Both caravanserais are noteworthy as important places where commercial activities were realized along the Silk Road over the course of history.

In Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish, respectively, there are words for commercial places that have separate functions, such as 'bazar / pazar (ba-zar)', 'malbazarı / malpazarı', 'dükön / dükkân', 'magazin / mağaza', 'chach tarach / berber', 'ashkana / aşhane (aşevi)', 'suluuluk salonu / kuaför', etc. Among these is the 'bazar / pazar', which is set up daily or weekly and where all sorts of food, vegetables, fruits and various items are sold. The place where animals like cows, horses, sheep and goats are sold is known as 'malbazarı / malpazarı'. 'Dükön / dükkân' has the nature of a place where a broad range of items and food products are sold and certain services provided. The word is essentially the Arabic 'dükkan'. 'Magazin' has come into Russian and Kyrgyz from western languages and means 'dükön'. In fact, in Kyrgyzstan on signs above the doors of *düköns* both 'dükön' and 'magazin' are written, as the examples 'X: Dükönü-Magazin' or 'X: Maga-zin-Dükönü' show. This method of naming is seen in the name of super-market-type stores where various food products and other items are sold, such as the 'Narodniı: Magazin-Dükönü' (Peoples Store) market chain. The naming method arises in Kyrgyzstan from the 'mamleket tili' (national language) of Kyrgyz, from Russian being accepted as an official language and on legal grounds. 'Magazin', which is used to mean 'dükön' in this nam-ing method, entered Anatolian Turkish as 'mağaza' and primarily refers to places where clothes and materials are sold. As for 'chach tarach', 'chach' equates to 'saç' (hair) in Anatolian Turkish. 'Chach tarach' combines 'chach' with the Persian word 'terash' (shave) and in Turkish the equivalent is 'berber' (barber).

Places known as 'dükön' in Kyrgyzstan have a variety, with regard to the products they sell or the services they provide, similar to the *dükkâns* (stores) in Anatolia. Short writings that clarify this situation are usually placed above the entrance door, together with the word 'dükön'. In this re-gard, generally the store sign of a place which sells 'tamak-ash' (food products) reads 'azyk-tülük: dükönü-magazin'; fruit and vegetable stores-'jashylja-jemish: dükönü-magazin'; shoe stores-'but kiïim (shoes): dükönü-magazin'; carpet stores-'kilem (carpet): dükönü-magazin'; book stores-'kitep' (book): dükönü-magazin'; furniture stores-'emerek (furniture)

dükönü-magazin'; florists-'güldör dükönü-magazin'; bakeries-'nan (bread): dükönü-magazin'. Additionally, it is noteworthy that at many stores there will be a sign in Russian describing the goods for sale or the services provided, as shown by the examples 'azyk-tülük produkty', 'but kiim-obuv', 'kitep-knijny', 'emerek-mebel', 'güldör-sveti', and 'nan-hleb'.



A store called 'azyk tülük' selling provisions in Bishkek

We should take note, in particular, of 'azyk-tülük' from among the 'dükön' names in Kyrgyzstan. Today in Kyrgyzstan 'azyk-tülük' and 'tamak-ash' (food-drinks) stores are widespread, and have the same meaning as 'bakka' in Turkish, the places where food products are sold. These places are known as 'azyk-tülik dükeni' in the Kazakh language. We should note, as well, that the word 'azyk' in 'azyk-tülük' was used in the name of a high-protein food called 'kül-azyk' among the Kyrgyz people in the past. This food would be obtained by drying boiled cooked horse, cow or sheep meat in the sun and then grinding the dried meat in a hand mill called 'jargylchak'. As the result of this grinding the meat would be thoroughly broken up into a 'kül' (ash) form, so 'kül' and 'azyk' were joined together resulting in 'kül-azyk'. 'Kül-azyk', which was particularly resilient against cold and heat, could be put into cloth bags and easily carried to distant places on long trips. It was then mixed in boiled water and eaten as food. It is rather interesting in this regard that in Anatolia food, trip food and storable food are called either 'azyk, azuk or azuğ'⁵. In rural areas, when going on a trip to a remote area dried foods such as 'yufka' (fillo),

⁵ *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü*, editor Cem Dilçin, Türk Dil Kurum Yayınları, Ankara 1983, p. 21.

grapes and cheese are prepared and put into a 'bohça' (bundle). This situation is significant from the standpoint of showing the bases upon which the 'azyk' concept is formed in Anatolia.

Flour Products and Places Where They Are Produced

It is true that flour and flour products are at the head of mankind's basic foods list. In this regard, one sees that over the course of history many words have been used in connection with flour and flour products and a significant portion of these words are in use today. Therefore, it would be appropriate to identify some terms related to flour products obtained only from wheat in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish, together with the places where wheat is raised, ground and its products manufactured. The place where grain products are raised is called 'talaa' in Kyrgyz and 'tarla' (field) in Anatolian Turkish. The word that refers to grain from the time it is planted in the 'talaa' or 'tarla' until it is harvested is called 'egin' in Kyrgyz and 'ekin' (crop) in Turkish. Of these, the main portion is comprised of crops known by the name 'buudaï' / 'buğday' (wheat) and is given the term 'mashak' / 'başak' (ear of grain).

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
arpa	arpa	barley
buudaï	buğday	wheat
egin	ekin	crop
elek	elek	sieve
jupka	yufka	thin
kamyr	hamur	dough
kattama	katmer	layered
kebek	kepek	bran
kesme	erişte	noodle
manty	mantı	ravioli
mashak	başak	ear of grain
nan	ekmek (nan)	bread
suu	su	water
talaa	tarla	field
tandyr	tandyr	tandoor
tegirmen	değirmen	mill
un	un	flour

In order to make bread, the most basic food material of wheat, and other products, the wheat is first brought to a place known by the name ‘teğirmen / değirmen’ (mill), where it must be ground. The ground material is known in both languages as ‘un’ (flour). The utensil used to sift the flour by hand is an ‘elek’ (sieve) and the material that remains inside the ‘elek’ is called ‘kebek / kepek’ (bran). To make important food products from flour it is mixed with ‘suu / su’ (water) and kneaded, with the resulting material known as ‘kamyр / hamur’ (dough). This is then cooked inside a place generally referred to as ‘tandyr’ (oven) and ‘nan’, bread, is the result. When the ‘kamyр / hamur’ (dough) is pressed very thin by an ‘oklava’ (rolling pin) and cooked in an oven, ‘jupka / yufka’ (filo) is produced. Flour in this form when kneaded with water and filled with meat or some other food can then be boiled in water or steam cooked and the food that results has been made famous by the name ‘manti’. When dough is cut into slices it becomes the food known in Kyrgyz as ‘kesme’ and in Anatolian Turkish as ‘erişte’ (noodle). Cooking layers of dough in oil is called ‘kattama’ in Kyrgyz and ‘katmer’ in Anatolian Turkish.



A ‘tandyr’ (oven) for cooking ‘nan’ bread in Bishkek (Photo: Aslı Şahin)

Milk and Milk Products

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
aıran	yoğurt	yoghurt
chalap	ayran	buttermilk
kaımak	kaymak	cream
kymyz	kymyz	kumiss

kurut	kurut	dried yoghurt
süt	süt	milk
süzme	süzme	filtered yoghurt
uuz	ağız (ağuz)	aghyz

In the Turkish world ‘süt’ (milk) and milk products have an important place. The reason for this is the significant role played by is the nomadic lifestyle tied to animal breeding. The most noteworthy matter here is that the food material obtained from animals and known by the name milk is known throughout almost all of the Turkic world as ‘süt’. In fact, ‘süt’ is called ‘süü’ in Mongolian. Milk is obtained from animals that give birth to lambs or other young. The milk from a cow one or two days after it gives birth is called ‘uuz’ in Kyrgyz and ‘ağız’ or ‘ağuz’ in Anatolian Turkish. This is drunk after heating to whet one’s appetite. The product made from the fermented milk of sheep, goats, cows and sometimes topoz is called ‘aıran’ in Kyrgyz and ‘yoğurt’ (yoghurt) in Anatolian Turkish. It should be noted here that ‘yoğurt’ made from sheep’s milk and known as ‘cuurat’ in Kyrgyz is a different variant of the word ‘yoğurt’ in Anatolian Turkish.



Milking a mare in Sonköl summer pasture



The making of ‘kymyz’, a popular drink among the Kyrgyz people

‘Chalap’ in Kyrgyz means ‘ayran’ in Anatolian Turkish. This situation shows that there has been a change in the meaning and the use of terms in both languages. But it is difficult at first to understand the reason for this. When ‘yoğurt’ is put in a sack and the water squeezed out of it what remains is called ‘süzme/süzme’ (sack yoğurt). ‘Kurut’ results from salting and drying ‘süzme’ and it is long-lasting, used mostly in winter in both dried form and mixed with soup. ‘Kymyz’ (kumiss) is made only from the milk of horses known as ‘jylky’ (‘yılıkı’ in Turkish). The delicious taste of ‘kymyz’

comes from the *jylky*'s milk, particularly as the horses graze among the fresh grass in the month of May. The most flavorful 'kymyz' is made from the milk of young 'jylky' which have given birth for the first time and which are known as 'baıtal bee'. Likening this taste to honeyed kymyz, they call it 'bal kymyz' (honey kumiss).



Making strained yoğurt (sözmö /süzme) in a summer pasture.



Children making dried milk products (kurut) in a summer pasture

Meat and Meat Products

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
bash	baş	head
boor	ciğer	liver
böörök	böbrek	kidney
chuchuk	sucuk	sausage
chükö (ashyk)	ashyk	anklebone
daly	kürek	shoulder
et	et	meat
ichegi	bağırsak	intestine
jürek	yürek	heart
kabyrga	kaburga	rib
karyn	karın	stomach
köz	göz	eye
kuıruk	kuyruk	tail
kuurdak	kavurma	roasted meat

mee	beyin	brain
murun	burun	nose
omurtka	omurga	backbone
shish kebek	shish kebab	shish kebab
til	dil	tongue

The most important field of activity of the nomadic lifestyle is animal breeding. In this regard, there are specific names for the internal and external organs of animals in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish and the organs are bought and sold by these names. The most basic food material taken from animals is known in both languages as ‘et’ (meat). Similarly, ‘baş’ (head) is used in each language. For other animal parts the words ‘daly / kürek’ (shoulder), ‘omurtka / omurga’ (backbone), ‘kabyrga / kaburga’ (rib), ‘söök / kemik’ (bone), ‘chükö (ashyk) / aşık’ (anklebone) and ‘kuïruk’ (tail) are used. The internal and external animal organs have the names ‘öörök / böbrek’ (kidney), ‘boor / ciğer’ (liver), ‘jürek / yürek’ (heart), ‘til / dil’ (tongue), ‘karın, ichegi / bağırsak’ (intestine), ‘mee / beyin’ (brain), ‘köz / göz’ (eye) and ‘murun / burun’ (nose). Various food products or meals are made from meat, the most important part of an animal. Among these, in particular, are ‘chuchuk / sucuk’ (sausage), ‘kuurdak / kavurma’ (roasted meat) and ‘shish kebek / shish kebab’.

Leather/Skins and Leather Products

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
but kiïim (ayak kap)	ayakkabı	shoes
kaïysh	kayış	belt
kamchy	kamçı	whip
teri	deri	leather
tulum	tulum	leather

Nomadic and settled peoples take advantage of animal products called ‘teri’ in Kyrgyz and ‘deri’ in Anatolian Turkish (skins, leather), as well as animal meat and milk. Skins are taken from the animal and, without any processing, are salted and dried and used both as upholstery and decoration, and to sit on. Additionally, various products are obtained from the skin by processing it in a number of ways. Among these products is one known in Kyrgyz as ‘but kiïim, ayak kap’ and in Anatolian Turkish as ‘ayakkabı’ (shoe) and there is a term for this that both languages share, ‘kaïysh’. ‘Kamchy’ (whip) is another important leather material, used to drive horses. Of course, these do not constitute the only products made of skins and

leather. Besides these there are many products used for both home needs and as clothing.

Dried Foods

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
buurchak	burçak (baklagiller)	pulses
fasol	fasulye	bean
jangak	ceviz	walnut
jemish	yemiş (kuru erik, üzüm)	dried fruits
kum sheker	toz şeker	granulated sugar
kürüch	pirinç	rice
nokot	nohut	chickpea
sheker	şeker	sugar
tuz	tuz	salt



A scene from the Osh Bazaar in Bishkek

With regard to certain terms for dried foods, the first ones of these that draw attention are baklagils, known in Kyrgyz as ‘buurchak’ and in Anatolian Turkish as ‘burçak’ (vetch). Others are foods like ‘kuru erik (prune), üzüm (grape), kishmish (black raisin)’, which are collectively known as ‘jemish / yemiş’ (dried fruit). In addition, there is a product raised in watery places and known in Kyrgyz as ‘kürüç’ and in Anatolian Turkish as ‘pirinç’ (rice). The word ‘sheker /şeker’ (sugar) is used in both

languages. The crumbled form of sugar is known in Kyrgyz as ‘kum sheker’ and in Anatolian Turkish as ‘toz şeker’. ‘Tuz’ (salt) is used the same way in both tongues.

Fruits and Vegetables

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
alma	alma (elma)	apple
almurut (ashpurt)	armut	pear
anar	nar	pomegranate
ashkabak	kabak	pumpkin
baklajan	patlıcan	eggplant
darbyz	karpuz	watermelon
jüzüm	üzüm	grape
kyzylcha	pancar	beet
koon	kavun	melon
kozukaryn	mantar	mushroom
kurma	hurma	khurma
mandarin	mandalina	tangerine
örük	erik	plum
piyaz	soğan	onion
sarymsak	sarımsak	garlic
shabdaaly	şeftali	peach

When one looks at the names of vegetables and fruits in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish, it is apparent that the names of many fruits are more or less the same, although there are some differences caused by pronunciation. For example, ‘kurma / hurma’ exhibits the change of ‘k’ and ‘h’ common in Turkish. The fruit known as ‘alma’ in Kyrgyz and as ‘alma’ or ‘elma’ (apple) in Anatolian Turkish is called ‘alma’ in Kazakh, too. In this regard, Almaty, one of Kazakhstan’s most important cities, carries the meaning of ‘apple place’ because of its fame for producing the fruit. Additionally, ‘piyaz’ in Kyrgyz is known as ‘soğan’ (onion) in Anatolian Turkish. However, it should be noted that Kyrgyz’s ‘piyaz’ means not only ‘soğan’ in Turkish but also refers in Turkish to a kind of salad made by boiling dried beans. ‘Sarymsak’ (garlic) is the same in both languages.

Trees, Metal and Metal Items

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
achkych	anahtar	key

aïry	çatal	fork
almaz	elmas	diamond
altyn	altın	gold
bychak	bıçak	knife
bilerik	bilezik	bracelet
chaïnek	çaydanlık	kettle
chalgy	tırpan	scythe
chygach kashyk	ağaç kaşık	wooden spoon
chyрак	çıra	kindling
chömüch	çömçe	big spoon
eer	eyer	saddle
elek	elek	sieve
fanar	fener	lantern
iïne	iğne	needle
kalaï	kalay	tin
kalbyr	kalbur	sieve
kashyk	kaşık	spoon
kazan	kazan	boiler
kychkach	maşa	tong
korgoshun	kurşun	lead
kümüşh	gümüş	silver
myk	mıh, çivi	peg nail
orok	orak	sickle
süzgüch	süzgeç	filter
tabak	tabak	plate
taka	nal	horseshoe
tarak	tarak	comb
taraza	terazi	scales
temir kashyk	demir kaşık	iron spoon
topchu	düğme	button
tuz salgych	tuzluk	salt shaker
ütük	ütü	iron

When looking at the names of kitchen items, which are foremost among the things made from wood, metals and minerals, one sees that most of these names are the same or similar in both languages and that those

with different names have been called so based on the item's shape, use and structure. For example, 'aıry' in Kyrgyz is the same as 'çatal' (fork) in Anatolian Turkish, and the names are based on the function and form of the utensil. 'Chaınek' and 'çaydanlık' (kettle) are words that convey the same concept in both languages. The same situation applies to 'chömiş / çömçe' (big spoon), 'süzgüch / süzgeç' (filter), 'tuz salgych / tuzluk' (salt shaker) and 'ütük / ütü' (iron). With regard to the names of precious metals and jewelry made from these materials, the only differences in the words come from pronunciation nuances, as shown by the examples 'almaz / elmas' (diamond), 'kümüş / gümüş' (silver) and 'bilerik / bilezik' (bracelet). The same situation applies to the second tier of items, namely 'kalbyr / kalbur' (sieve), 'eer / eyer' (saddle), 'fanar / fener' (lantern) and 'chyrak / çıra' (kindling). Among this group of items, in comparing the concepts of Kyrgyz 'achkych' with Anatolian Turkish 'anahtar' (key), it is noteworthy that the naming of 'achkych' is very appropriate, based on its function.

Textiles and Textile Products

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
belboo	kuşak	belt
ichköñök	köynek	underdress
jaket	ceket	coat
jazdyk	yasdık	pillow
jibek	ipek	silk
jip	ip	rope
juurkan	yorgan	quilt
jün	yün	wool
kepin	kefen	shroud
kiim	giyim (giysi)	dress
kiiz	keçe	felt
kilem	kilim, halı	carpet
kol aarchy	mendil	handkerchief
köñök	göMLEK	shirt
parda	perde	curtain
sheishep	çarşaf	bed sheet
töshök	döşek	mattress

For nomadic groups the main source for textiles and textile goods is wool. The primary reason for this is that among these communities animal breeding is more important than anything else. In this regard, wool, which

is known as 'jün' in Kyrgyz, is obtained from animals called generally in Kyrgyz 'koï', 'echki' and 'töö', and in Anatolian Turkish 'koyun' (sheep), 'keçi' (goat) and 'deve' (camel). But among these animals the wool of sheep is used mostly. Once or twice a year the sheep are sheared of their wool, which is then washed, cleaned, puffed up and combed. Subsequently, it forms the main material of items found in almost every home, namely 'juurkan / yorgan' (quilt), 'töshök / döşek' (mattress) and 'jazdyk / yasdık' (pillow). Besides this, the material known as 'keche' (felt) in Anatolian Turkish and 'kiiz' in Kyrgyz is made from wool. Felt is used to cover the famous Kyrgyz 'bozü' and Anatolian Turkish 'çadır' (tent), the nomads' winter and summer home that can be easily set up and taken down. Additionally, The material made by bending wool, known in Kyrgyz as 'jip' and in Anatolian Turkish as 'ip' (rope, thread), is used to make many woven textiles and textile products. Foremost among such products are the Kyrgyz 'kilem' and the Anatolian Turkish 'halı' (carpet). In addition, there are other textile products such as 'köñök / gömlek' (shirt), 'ichköñök / köynek' (underdress), 'sheishep / çarşaf' (sheet), 'kiim / elbise' (dress) and 'kepin / kefin' (shroud). Sheep shearing for wool, the main source for textile products.



Shearing wool from a sheep, the source of textile products



Making wool into rope/thread

Professions

Kyrgyz	Anatolian Turkish	English
aarychy	arıcı	beekeeper
anachy	ebe	midwife
añchy	avcı	hunter
asker	asker	soldier
balykchy	balıkçı	fisherman
bashchy	başkan	head, chief
bozochu	bozacı	Boza maker

chaban	çoban	shepherd
daryger	hekim, doktor	doctor
dükönchü	dükkâncı	shopkeeper
elchi	elçi	envoy
imam	imam	imam
ishchi	işçi	workman
jazuuchu	yazar	author
jeldet	cellat	executioner
kabarchy	haberci	messenger
kasap	kasap	butcher
kumarpoz	kumarbaz	gambler
mugalim	muallim	teacher
oïmochu	oymacı	embroidery
otunchu	oduncu	wood seller
örmöchü	örmeci	knit maker
ötükchü	çizmecî	top boot
satuuu	satıcı	seller
syïkyrchy	sihirci	magician
suuchu	sucu	water seller
syïkyrchy	sihirci	magician
synykchy	sınıkçı, kırıkçı, çıkıkçı	bonesetter
tegirmenchi	değirmenci	mill
terichi	derici	leather
tikmechi, bychmachy	terzi	tailor
tilchi	dilci	animal
tilenchi	dilenci	beggar
tokuuchu	dokumacı	weaver
ukukchu	hukukçu	lawyer
usta	usta	master
zerger	zerger (kuyumcu)	jeweller

The professions related to trade and craft sectors are named by adding the suffix ‘-cı’, ‘-ci’, ‘-cu’, ‘-cü’, ‘-çı’, ‘-çi’, ‘-çu’, ‘-çü’ to the end of the name of the profession, although there is no general rule in this regard. In this context, it is noteworthy that in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish professions such as ‘balykchy’ (fisherman), ‘terici / derici’ (leather maker), ‘tokuuchu / dokumacı’ (weaver) and ‘altynjy’ (jeweler) are referred to in

this manner. Other than these professions, there are some others whose names are slightly different owing to pronunciation nuances, such as ‘chaban / çoban’, ‘mugalim / muallim’ (teacher) and ‘usta’ (expert), but they share the same conceptual meaning.

The most significant matter that draws attention between the words mentioned above, relating to various trade and craft sectors, in Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish, is that most of them use the same terms. Another interesting aspect is that the sounds of some Kyrgyz words are pronounced differently than in Anatolian Turkish, such as ‘ashkana / aşhane’ (soup kitchen), ‘kamyr / hamur’ (dough), ‘kattama / katmer’ (layered dough), ‘tegirmen / değirmen’ (mill), ‘chuchuk / sucuk’ (sausage), ‘köz / göz’ (eye), ‘til / dil’ (tongue), ‘omurtka / omurga’ (backbone), ‘kurma / hurma’ (date), ‘kümüş / gümüş’ (silver) and ‘teri / deri’ (skin, leather). This must be the result of the changes and effects on the two languages from being separate from one another for centuries and in geographies very far apart. Kyrgyz has long and round vowels that are often encountered in certain words, as shown by the following examples: ‘dükön / dükkân’ (store), ‘buudaï / buğday’ (wheat), ‘suu / su’ (water), ‘süzmö / süzme’ (filter), ‘uuz / ağız’ (mouth), ‘böörök / böbrek’ (kidney), ‘kuurdak / kavurma’ (roast), ‘buurchak / burçak’ (vetch), ‘chömüch / çömçe’ (big spoon), ‘eer / eyer’ (saddle), ‘süzgüch / süzgeç’ (sieve), ‘juurkan / yorgan’ (quilt), ‘töshök / döşek’ (mattress) and ‘tokuuchu / dokumacı’ (weaver). Examples such as ‘jupka / yufka’ (filo), ‘jemish / yemiş’ (dried fruit), ‘jazdyk / yasdık’ (pillow) and ‘jün / yün’ (wool) reflect the change of ‘c’ and ‘y’ at the head of certain words that are certainly in the same language group.

In the framework of the matters stated above, we can say that when we look at certain Kyrgyz and Anatolian Turkish words and terms in various fields related to the trade and craft sectors, a large portion of them were formed within the same historical, geographical and civilized values, some, albeit few, were acquired from afar as the result of mutual contact, and they have come down to the present day as common values. This situation emphasizes the need for primarily cultural and civilized values to be put forward to enable the building of a dialogue bridge between countries and peoples, particularly Turkic peoples and tribes; the need for the realization of comparative scientific research on this subject; and, in this regard, the special need for on-site research and observation-based investigations in Central Asia, along with the use of written sources there. In the event that this research is not done and presented then it is clear that the nomadic civilization, which constitutes an important part of human history, cannot be completely put forward for consideration and the relations between the people who created the nomadic civilization cannot be fully understood.

Case Studies

Transformation of *Baatyr* in the Formation of Nation-State in Kyrgyzstan*

Introduction

The term *baatyr* meaning ‘brave, hero’ and ‘valiant’ is used in a wide geographical area and context in Central Asia¹. In this connection, Kyrgyz society in the past and at present appears in this nomadic culture mostly and primarily with its *baatyr*s. As far as it is understood from written and oral sources, the concept of *baatyr* emerged in Kyrgyz society together with their nomadic life style. I would argue that by this time *baatyr*s became not only a part of the national and cultural values but also an ideological factor in the communal security of Kyrgyz society. So this article tries to explore the issue of ‘heroism’ in the context of Central Asian nations, focusing particularly on the concept of *baatyr* in the case of Kyrgyz society. Also, how this concept was transformed according to periods as well as in the formation of the nation-state understanding of the Kyrgyz people in post-Soviet time will be given deeper consideration.

Baatyr in pre-Soviet Times

It is worth emphasizing that Kyrgyz society has two main social and political structures: On Kanat (Right Wing) and Sol Kanat (Left Wing). Each wing consists of clans called *uruus*. The clans are in turn divided into sub-clans known as *uruk*. Each clan is independent of one another, living in separate specific geographical locations². Administratively these clans had been led by leaders, such as *biī*, *manap* and *datka*. Here we can mention that *baatyr*s were leaders among the society, and at the same time they were guards of the *uruus*. This meant that each *uruu* or clan had one or more *baatyr*s who were always together with the ordinary people. On the

* It was presented at the *International Seminar: The State in Eurasia*, March 14-16, 2012, Kolkata, India.

¹ On the use and etymology of this word see E. V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskii Slovar Tyurkskikh Yazykov*, Moskva 1978, pp. 82-85.

² For a field study on the geographical distribution, geneology and ethnography of the Kyrgyz *uruus* in the 1950s see Ya. R. Vinnikov, “Rodo-plemennoi sostav i rasselenie kirgizov na territorii Yuzhnoi Kirgizii”, *Trudy kirgizskoi arkheologo - etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii*, I, Moskva 1956, pp. 136-181; S. M. Abramzon, “Etnicheskii sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya Severnoy Kirgizii”, *Trudy kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, IV, Moskva 1960, pp. 3-137.

one hand, the terms *er* and *alp* were sometimes used instead of *baatyr* in the epics of Kyrgyz society. In this respect, the central idea of this section is that in pre-Soviet times the traditional *baatyr*s of Kyrgyz society emerged by themselves usually based on their own personal capacities, abilities and skills, as well as their heroic characteristics. That is, in the emergence of a *baatyr* in a clan, a person must possess strong physical, mental and leadership abilities. These abilities consisted of personal habits or deeds, such as gathering brave men called *jigits* around him, good horseback riding and weapon usage, etc.



The Monument of Manas Baatyr (Alatoo Square, Bishkek)

The Manas Baatyr of Kyrgyz society is an accurate example for this case. As far as it is understood from the general text of the Manas epic, Manas was a talented, charismatic and physically strong leader who emerged from the society by himself. According to the Manas epic, one of the most important features of Manas was that when he was thirteen years old, he gathered thirty *nökörs* (valiants) around him³, launched attacks against the Kalmaks and united the dispersed Kyrgyz clans showing the most important features of a real leader. Indeed, the most popular expression related to Manas is as follows:

Kulaaly taptap kush kyldym / Kurama jyïyp jurt kyldym

I made a Hawk out of a feeble bird / I made a nation out of a dispersed people

There are also other political, social and geographical reasons for the emergence of the *baatyr*s. One of the most important features is that each clan had an independent social and political structure and they needed fighters like *baatyr*s for self-protection. In this context, it is very useful to recall

³ This expression related to this feature of Manas in the Sagynbay Orozbekov version of the Manas epic is as follows: “Otuz nökör kashynda / Byïyl on üç jashynda / Azemil suunun bashynda” (*Manas*, I-Kitep, Bishkek 1995, p. 279, couplets: 658-660).

an expression thought to have originated with Asan Kaıgy, a wise man and critic of the steppe who lived between the end of the 14th and middle of the 15th centuries, an expression which reflects the characteristics of a *baatyr*⁴.

Coodan suurup albasa	If s/he cannot take away from the enemy
Jolun tosup barbasa	If s/he cannot cut a path to the enemy
Kalkka nazar salbasa	If s/he cannot take the responsibility of his people
Bashyn baılap barbasa	If s/he cannot face death
Baatyrlıktan ne paıda?	What is the use of being a <i>baatyr</i>

This expression reflects some of the characteristics of a *baatyr* among Kyrgyz society in the past. Besides, a proverb related to the *baatyr* goes as follows: '*er jigit el kamyn jeit*'. This proverb is very important because it bears a similarity in meaning with the expression of Asan Kaıgy. In addition, we should not neglect the social and geographical factors in the emergence of a *baatyr*. In short, the *baatyr*s among the Kyrgyz were primarily responsible for the political security of the related clan, as well as the protection of inhabited places in the region since it was a time when the weak could easily be eliminated by the 'strong' in intense struggles.

In giving further examples, from the middle of the 17th century Kalmak attacks started to deeply affect Kyrgyz and Kazakh societies⁵. The *baatyr*s began to emerge in more specific areas and of course in considerable numbers. Thus, Jaıyl Baatyr and Er Soltonı Baatyr from the Solto uruu, and Atake Baatyr from the Sarybagysh uruu struggled to unite the Kyrgyz clans against the Kalmyks. The Kalmak attacks left unforgettable traces in the memory of the people. There is a famous expression that reflects a real event at that time: '*Kazakh kaıyng saap/Kyrgyz Ysar Kölöpkö kachkanda*'. It is very clearly understood from this expression that after the invasion of the Kalmaks, Kazakhs leaving their homeland suffered from hunger, and they drank the water of the beech wood. The Kyrgyz had to migrate through the Isar (Hisor) and Kulyab (Kulab) areas to Tajikistan. Also, there is another expression among the Kazakhs related to this event: '*Aktaban shubyryndy*' which means 'exodus on barefoot'. This expression is very important in the emergence of *baatyr*s, under which conditions the above-mentioned heroes or *baatyr*s emerged.

Following the Kalmak invasion, struggles began between the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs in the 1770s because of territorial issues. At that time some of

⁴ On this expression, see A. M. Eshiev, *Orto türk doorundagy pedagogikalyk oılor*, Bishkek 2006, p. 254.

⁵ For more information on this matter see İ. Ya. Zlatkin, *Istoriya Jungarskogo khanstva 1635-1758*, Moskva 1983; V. A. Moiseev, *Jungarskoe khanstvo i kazakhi XVII-XVIII vv.*, Alma-Ata 1991.

the *baatyr*s, such as Ormon Baatyr and Törökeldi Baatyr from Sarybagysh uruu; Sadyr Baatyr and Alybek Baatyr from Sayak uruu and Bürgö Baatyr from Kushchu uruu, emerged as distinguished persons from their uruus and played a significant role in the protection of their territorial areas. These struggles continued for a long time, followed by struggles with other nations. For instance, many local, regional and national *baatyr*s appeared especially during the struggles with the Chinese and Russians. It must in addition be taken into consideration that the emergence of these *baatyr*s was affected by internal factors, such as conflicts and struggles among the Kyrgyz *uruus*, as well.

As far as it is reflected in the epics of the Kyrgyz, being a *baatyr* in the Kyrgyz tradition is not only a feature for men. It is possible to find the names of some young girls or women as *baatyr*s in Kyrgyz epics and traditions. We can name Kyz Saïkal⁶, Janyl Myrza⁷ and Kuïaly Baatyr⁸ as female *baatyr*s, for example. In the Manas epic, the female *baatyr* Kyz Saïkal fights with Manas Baatyr in the battlefield. We can therefore say that the *baatyr*s are trusted persons in that they embody the moral values of Kyrgyz society.

Baatyr in Soviet Times

Kyrgyz culture, including beliefs, habits, customs and traditions, as well as social and administrative institutions such as *manap*, *baï*, *biï* were banned in the earliest years of the Soviet system. There was an ideal of creating a new Soviet man in this embodiment of the Soviet Union. However, it is worth noting that the Soviet system began to benefit from the essential values of Kyrgyz society and kept these values alive for the success of the system over time. A typical example is the concept of the *baatyr*. This is why the main idea of this part of the concept of *baatyr* was kept alive by the Soviet regime since many administrative and social institutions had already been banned by the regime. As far as it is understood, the concept of *baatyr*, although it was a former institution, was seen as important for the future of the regime and especially in terms of establishing good relations with the local people. This is why the Soviet regime changed the concept of *baatyr* appropriately according to the needs of the system and integrated it into various areas. In this context, the concept of *baatyr* was given a very important function for ‘the creation of a new Soviet man’, such as integrating, uniting and motivating people in moral values.

⁶ Sagynbaï Orozbekov, *Manas*, II- Kitep, Frunze 1980, pp. 49-69.

⁷ See *Sarinji*, *Bököï*, *Janyl Myrza* (A. Chorobaevtin Aïtuusu Boyuncha), Bishkek 1998, pp. 209-372; M. Musulmankulovdun Aïtuusu Boyuncha, pp. 373-447.

⁸ B. Maksütov, *Seïtek Baatyr baïany*, Bishkek 2007, pp. 130-162; A. Jaïnakova, “Kuyaly”, *Manas Entsiklopediya*, I, Bishkek 1995, pp. 358-359

The rewards related to the *baatyr* can be divided into three categories: *Geroi Sovetskogo Soyuz* / *Sovetter Soyuzunun Baatyry* (Hero of the Soviet Union), *Geroi Sotsialisticheskogo Truda* / *Sotsialistik Emgektin Baatry* (Hero of Socialist Labour) and *Mat' Geroinya* / *Baatyr Ene* (Mother Heroine).

Geroi Sovetskogo Soyuz (Hero of the Soviet Union) - the highest honorary title - was established by a decision made in the USSR on April 16, 1934. The title could be given to both Soviet civilians and soldiers for heroic acts. It was first given to a pilot, Anatoliy Lyapidevskiy on April 20, 1934. The last recipient of the award was diver Leonid Mikhailovich Solodkov, given on December 24, 1991. But by this time the Soviet Union had already collapsed. So he could not receive his award as a Soviet citizen. During the Soviet period over 12,000 persons were awarded this title⁹. There were also some Kyrgyz who received this title, such as Dair Asanov and Kalyñur (Kalyñnur) Usenbekov. In appearance this medal symbolizes a five-pointed golden star, and this award could be received more than once.



Heros of Soviet period

Geroy Sotsialisticheskogo Truda (Hero of Socialist Labour) was a title that was established on December 27, 1938. It was an honorary title in the Soviet Union for exceptional achievements in economy and culture. In addition, according to instructions, a person who takes this title was given a medal known as the *Lenin Ordeni*, as well as a certificate of honor. Besides, being an honorable citizen of the Soviet Union was highly appreciated and was accompanied by extra moral support as well. For instance, for those who were awarded this title more than once, a bronze sculpture was erected for them in their home countries. For example, among the *baatyr*s of the Kyrgyz Republic, a bronze statue was made for a *kolkhoz* worker, Zuurakan Kañazarova because she received the award three times. Over 20,000 persons were awarded this title in the Soviet period. The last recipient was

⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hero_of_the_Soviet_Union.

Kazakh singer Bibigul Tulegenova on December 21, 1991¹⁰. Apart from Zuurakan Kainazarova, several Kyrgyz received this title, such as *kolkhoz* workers Kerimbübü Shopokova¹¹ and Ülbüzkan Atabekova, shepherd Tashtanbek Akmatov and the famous author, Chyngyz Aitmatov.



A certificate of Mother Heroine

Mat' Groinya (Mother Heroine) was a title established on July 8, 1944 and given to mothers of ten or more children. This title was given to 454,142 women between October 27, 1944 and November 14, 1991¹². This honorary title for women was a gold star with pure silver, as well as a certificate which gave a number of privileges, such as the payment of public utilities and food supplies and other goods. Among the mother heroines of the Kyrgyz Republic are Gülbübü (Kulbubu) Mövküşova (13 children), Zina Abdykasymova (10 children), Fauziya Nazaralieva (10 children) and Zuuran Muhammedova (10 children); they both gave interviews to us¹³. In my opinion, since it was established at the end of Second World War, this title could have been given with the hope of increasing the population.

¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hero_of_Socialist_Labour.

¹¹ Kerimbübü Shopokova (born in 1917) is from Shalta *aiyl* (village), Sokuluk *raion* (district), Chuï *oblast* (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on April 9, 2011). Shopokova, who was married in 1933 and who has four children, was given this title in 1957 because she raised sugar beets so well and, in fact, she says that each one of the sugar beets was the size of a horse's head.

¹² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mother_Heroine.

¹³ Gülbübü Mövküşova (born in 1935) is from Madaniyat *aiyl*, Chuï *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Zina Abdykasimova (born in 1941) is from Madaniyat *aiyl*, Chuï *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Fauziya Nazaralieva (born in 1943) is from Yntymak *aiyl*, Bakay-Ata *raion*, Talas *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 7, 2011). Zuuran Muhammedova (born in 1943) is from Madaniyat *aiyl*, Bakay-Ata *raion*, Talas *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 7, 2011). In this regard, Zuuran Muhammedova gives the names and birth dates of her children as follows: Gülmana (1962), Gülsara (1963), Nurdin (1965), Islam (1967), Idris (1969), Fatima (1972), Baktygül (1974), Malika (1975), Tahmina (1979) and Anar (1981).

Baatyr in post-Soviet Times

Following the dismantling of the Soviet Union, public commemorations in different regions began remembering the *baatyr*s as the ancestors of Kyrgyz society. In this respect, here our main idea is that in the post-Soviet period, relatives of the *baatyr*s became the main vehicle for commemorating or rebirth of the concept of *baatyr*.

As an example, it is worth noting the commemoration of Jarban by his relatives and the way they remember their *baatyr*. Because of very limited written sources related to Jarban, we expected to base our evaluation of him on what his descendants and villagers say about him. So according to a lack of research approaches, I have decided to discuss what has been talked about him in the current history subject.

Revival of a *Baatyr*: Jarban is revived in a village called *Madaniyat*, thus indicating the importance of the *baatyr* in Kyrgyz society. This village is in the Chuï raïon of Chuï oblast. There are 160 households in the village of *Madaniyat*, in which 760 people live. Approximately 90% of these people belong to those who say they are the descendants of Jarban. According to the villagers, Jarban, who belonged to the *Sarybagysh* uruu (clan), used to live in the Atbashy region in the area of Naryn in the 17th century. The villagers tell that Jarban was named after the way he was born because they had made an operation for his birth¹⁴. Based on rumors, some researchers cite that Jarban and his people emigrated from Chuï region to the mountainous regions of Naryn as a result of Kalmak pressure¹⁵.

According to genealogy, the real name of Jarban, who is the son of Manap Biï, was Sütüke. Also, the name of his brother was Sütöï. Jarban is a nickname for Sütüke which is widely used by the inhabitants of the village of *Madaniyat* and especially by the descendants of Jarban¹⁶. His father Manap Biï was also a *baatyr*. Manap Biï is quoted as being a hero in the tribal conflicts between the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs. As far as it is understood, by

¹⁴ Tentimish İbraimov (born in 1954) is the head of *Madaniyat* Aïyl Council, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Atyrkül İbraimova (born in 1959) is from *Madaniyat* aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

¹⁵ See Belek Soltonoev, *Kyzyl kyrgyz taryhy*, Bishkek 1993, pp. 102 and 109; Döölötbek Saparaliev, *Vzaimootnosheniya kyrgyzckogo naroda s russkim i so-sednimi narodami v XVIII v.*, Bishkek 1995, p. 29.

¹⁶ For the list of genealogy related to the Jarban, see S. Attokurov, *Kyrgyz Sanjy-rasy*, Bishkek 1995, p. 122. Here this name is mentioned as only Jarban; also see S. M. Abramzon, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35 (the family tree of the *Sarybagysh* clan and Belek Soltonoev, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 109); S. A. Alymkulov, *Bardygy özübüzgö bایلаныштуу*, Bishkek 2005, p. 28; Öskön Osmonov, *Manap biï degen kim bolgon, Manapchylyk degen emne?*, Bishkek 2007 (on the last page of the booklet).

this time the descendants of Jarban consisted of a sub-clan called the Jarban uruu which belongs to the Sarybagysh uruu. Around ten families are said to have immigrated from Atbashy to Chuï area, among them some families known as the family of Tynalu uulu Belek, Tynalu uulu Bapy, Mambet Kazy and Mambet Kerim, etc¹⁷. These families maintain even at present a close relationship with their relatives who remained in Atbashy and other regions. This situation must be an indication of the time of the said immigration, which appears to have taken place in the 1930's. These years coincide with the establishment of *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* in the Soviet period. Here one should note that new villages and raïons (districts) were established in this period. One of these villages is the village of Madaniyat. The early inhabitants of this village are those families who came from Atbashy. Thus, the village of Madaniyat was established by some members of the Jarban uruu. Later on, immigrants coming from different regions also settled in the village of Madaniyat. These late-comers belonged to some clans or sub-clans called Jetigen, Sayak, Monoldor, Manap and Jumash uulu. They joined the social network of the village called the *Jarban Yntymagy*, which means social and economic solidarity of the village in good and bad days (*jak-shylyk* and *jamandyk*), like marriage and death¹⁸.

According to Abramzon, who conducted ethnographic field research in 1953-1954, 80% of the population of the village of Madaniyat consisted of people of the Jarban uruu belonging to the Sarybagysh uruu. Abramzon also indicates that six households from the same tribe were in the village of Ak-Beshim village in the Chuï raïon, seven households in Ataïka village in the Bystrovska (Kemin) raïon, four households in Ak-Beshim village in the Kulanak raïon in Naryn province, seventeen households in Koshoi-Korgon village in the Atbashy raïon, and eight households in Jerge-Tal village in the Naryn raïon. Apart from these, 30% of the population of the Shamschy *kolkhoz* in the Kochkor raïon consisted of people of the Jarban uruu¹⁹. All

¹⁷ Asanbek Kakeev (born in 1962) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Kalbüü İlebaeva (born in 1961) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Kanybek Abdykasymov (born in 1961) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Malika Usonova (born in 1964) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

¹⁸ Kudaïbergen Tatanov (born in 1932) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 30, 2008); Nasip Tatanova (born in 1938) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 30, 2008); Asanbek Kakeev, see note 17; Aïnura Omurakunova (born in 1967) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

¹⁹ See S. M. Abramzon, *op. cit.*, p. 38. For a translation of this article into Kyrgyz, see S. M. Abramzon, *Kyrgyz jana Kyrgyzstan taryhy boyuncha tandalma emgekter*,

of this shows us that the members of Jarban uruu are dissipated in a comparatively large geographical area.



The entrance of Madaniyat village

Following the dismantling of the Soviet Union, in Kyrgyzstan local and regional activities reflect a return to Kyrgyz national traditions and culture. In this regard, the revival of a *baatyr* is being realized in the village of Madaniyat. One of the features of this village is that among the villagers there are many educated Kyrgyz, including businessmen and scientists, such as Öskön Osmonov, Salmoor Alymkulov, Ruslan Arzymatov, Mambet Kerimov, Kuban Beışhembaev, Altynbek İsmailov and Almaz İsmailov. Many of them are of Jarban descent²⁰.

These educated persons led the villagers after 1991 to erect a commemorative monument in the village to honor the memory of 83 villagers who lost their lives in Second World War. Later on, these pioneers led the villagers in the revival activity of the Jarban Baatyr. To this end, the villagers decided to raise a commemorative marble monument on which a representative picture was engraved²¹. This initiative and the respectful attitude of the descendents of Jarban prove that Jarban Baatyr has survived in the memory of the people. Here it is worth mentioning that the revival of Jarban owes much to the nomadic oral history of the Kyrgyz people.

Bishkek 1999, s. 668 (The percentage related to the Shamshy kolkhoz is not mentioned in the Kyrgyz version).

²⁰ Asanbek Kakeev, see note 17; Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14 and Atyrkül İbraimova, see note 14.

²¹ Asanbek Kakeev, see note 17; Aınura Omurakunova, see note 18 and Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14.

But there was a problem in connection with the said monument: Jarban lived in the 17th century, and there was no drawing at hand. This problem was solved by using an earlier picture of one of the descendants of Jarban, namely Berdibek İsmailov, born in 1943. All expenses related to the construction of the monument were met by the villagers²².



Jarban Monument in Madaniyat village

The opening ceremony of the Jarban monument took place in 2003. On this occasion all the relatives of Jarban living in Atbashy, Jumgal and Kochkor were invited to the ceremony. The presence of a crowd of Jarban descendants in the village of Madaniyat on this occasion shows clearly that not only the people keep their beliefs in their *baatyr* but also the privilege of being a 'Jarban'. This fact explains the continuing importance of tribal solidarity through the revival of *baatyr*s. Official representatives were also present at the opening ceremony. According to Kyrgyz tradition, on the occasion of this opening a prayer and *Koran* reading and a large banquet were organized. Those who came to participate in the ceremony from Atbashy brought a horse offered for the meal during the banquet²³. All of this constitutes a real example of the revival of a local *baatyr* during the post-Soviet period.

As for the revival of Manap Biī, father of Jarban Baatyr, construction of a commemorative monument devoted to him began immediately after the building of the monument to Jarban Baatyr. According to the descendants of Jarban Baatyr²⁴, Manap Biī was a more important and distin-

²² Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14 and Asanbek Kakeev, see note 17.

²³ Suusar Karybekova (born in 1954) is from Madaniyat aīyl, Chuī raion, Chuī oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012); Aīnura Omurakunova, see note 18; Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14 and Asanbek Kakeev, see note 17.

²⁴ Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14 and Atyrkūl İbraimova, see note 14.

guished *baatyr* compared to Jarban. In other words, while Jarban Baatyr has the character of being a local *baatyr*, Manap Bii is known as a regional *baatyr*. Here it is worth mentioning that more people than those who participated in the commemoration of Jarban were involved in the building of a monument for Manap Bii. In the end, the monument in memory of Manap Bii was constructed and placed at the entrance of Tokmok city²⁵. This monument was also inaugurated with the presence of a large community and a great ceremony in 2009.



The monument of Manap Bii in the entrance of Tokmok city

Two particularities attract attention when comparing the two monuments. The monument of Jarban Baatyr is in a village, while the monument of Manap Bii is in a larger town capital of Chuï province. The second point is that the Jarban Baatyr monument is smaller than the Manap Bii monument. This comparison shows that the people accept Jarban as a local *baatyr* and his father Manap Bii as a regional and more important *baatyr*.

The second important activity in relation with the revival of *baatyr*s in Kyrgyzstan in the transition period consists of the increase in publishing various articles and books, conferences and scientific gatherings. Thus, background literature is being enriched. The main point to note is that the revival process of the *baatyr*s stems from the private initiatives of their descendants who meet the related expenses partly or fully. In this connection, publications and academic and popular meetings for various *baatyr*s, such as Jaïyl Baatyr²⁶, Shabdan Baatyr²⁷, Taiïak Baatyr²⁸,

²⁵ Tentimish İbraimov, see note 14 and Atyrkül İbraimova, see note 14.

²⁶ Jaïyl Baatyr: *Uchur jana Kelechek, El Aralyk İlmiï-Praktikalyk Konferentsiyanyn Materialdary*, Karabalta Shaary, 12-Oktyabr, 2006- jyl, Bishkek 2006.

²⁷ *Shabdan Baatyr: Epokha i Lichnost*, Bishkek 1999.

²⁸ Abdykalyk Chorobaev, *Taiïak Baatyr*, Bishkek 2002.

Nurdöölöt Baatyr²⁹, Boronbaï Baatyr³⁰, Sadyr Ake³¹, Balbaï Baatyr³², Baïzak Baatyr³³, Bürgö Baatyr³⁴, Satykeï Baatyr³⁵, Alymbek Han³⁶ and Nüzüp Biï³⁷ are being organized. In the meantime, it is possible to find various publications related to Jarban Baatyr and his father, Manap Biï³⁸.

Following the transition period it seems that a strong interest in the revival of the concept of *baatyr* by the Kyrgyz state was not demonstrated in the early years of this period. However, an increasing interest can be seen over time. This may result from the creation and reestablishment of a new state. However, the Jogorku Kenesh (Supreme Council) took a decision on 26 June 1996 related to the state awards of the Kyrgyz Republic; it was approved by President Askar Akaev on 10 July 1996. Thus, the title of *Kyrgyz El Baatry*, meaning Hero of the Kyrgyz People, was established by the Kyrgyz Republic. This title has begun to be given to persons who made significant contributions to the country and people of Kyrgyzstan and who served for the future and independence of the Kyrgyz Republic.

In addition, all rights and status in the Soviet Union related to the title have been preserved by the Kyrgyz state. Meanwhile, the title of Baatyr of the Kyrgyzstani People was given to persons who gave superior service during the Soviet period. A medal of first degree called Akshumkar (White Eagle) and certificate of honor of the Kyrgyz Republic are given to the holders of this title. Several persons have received the title of Baatyr of the Kyrgyz people, such as Tugelbaï Sydykbekov, Chyngyz Aïtmatov, Turgunbaï Sadykov, Salican Sharipov, Turdakun Usupaliyev, Sabira Kumushaliev, Asankan Jumakmatov and Mambet Mamakeev in the period of President Askar Akaev; Absamat Masaliev, Tölögön Kasymbekov, Süyünbaï Eraliyev, Sooranbaï Jusuev and Ernist Akramov in the period of President Kurmanbek Bakiev; and Mirsaid Mirrahimov, Külüipa Konduchalova, Aliyasbek Alymkulov, Beksultan Jakiev, Dooronbek Sadyrbaev, Iskhak Razzakov and Mitalip Mamytov in the period President of Roza

²⁹ Emilbek Kaptagaev, *Nurdöölöt Baatyr bayany*, Bishkek 2011.

³⁰ Ernīs Tursunov, *Boronbaï*, Bishkek 2004.

³¹ Akmat Karybaï uulu, *Sadyr Ake*, Bishkek 2002.

³² Ernīs Tursunov, *Balbaï jana anyn dooru*, Bishkek 1992.

³³ Baïzak Tooke uulunun 175 jyldygyna karata Baïzak Baatyr-kemenger, Bishkek 2003.

³⁴ Kushubek Kachybekov, *Bürgö Baatyr*, Bishkek 2003.

³⁵ Kushubek Isan, *Satykeï Baatyr*, Bishkek 2009.

³⁶ Janar Kenchiev, *Alymbek Han*, Bishkek 2004.

³⁷ Jeenbek Alymbaev, *Nüzüp biï*, Bishkek 2000.

³⁸ S. A. Alymkulov, *op. cit.*; Öskön Osmonov, *op. cit.*

Otunbaeva³⁹. The most important feature of this title is that the official language in the medal and the text of the certificate is in the Kyrgyz language. Apart from this title, if a mother has at least eight children, she is given the title of 'Baatyr Ene' meaning 'Hero Mother'.

Conclusion

The clan structure and the idea of belonging to a 'clan' played a very important role in the emergence of the *baatyr* in Kyrgyz society. Although Kyrgyz society at present displays a settled way of life, there still exists a sense of clan-belonging, and the structure of the clan is still significant. Therefore, *baatyr*s were revived again after 1991 especially through the deeds of their descendants. Also this traditional concept, which is deeply rooted in hundreds of years, was effectively used in the creation of a 'new Soviet citizen' in the period of the Soviet Union. It is a fact that Kyrgyz society did not forget their traditional institutions during the time of the Soviet regime. It is clearly shown that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the revival of the *baatyr*s was first initiated by their descendants. The pioneers of the revival and introduction of the *baatyr*s to the public are the related clans themselves. Jarban Baatyr is a typical example of this. Jarban is a hero who lived probably in the 17th century and currently he is the spiritual leader of his generation. They, specifically the descendants of Jarban in the village, say with pride that they are from the Jarban line. Even the people who live in other regions of Kyrgyzstan and who also see themselves as the generation of Jarban, still accept Jarban as their ancestor. This geographically widely spread generation of Jarban and their close relationships to each other shows that they were keeping tight solidarity bonds even in the oppressive times of the Soviets. Such clan unity and solidarity definitely creates a social identity among the people. This kind of bond around a spiritual leader creates a basis for the formation of a larger union. The cultural aspects of these formations, specifically after 1991, must have played a very important role in the nation-state building of Kyrgyz society.

³⁹ Osmonakun İbraimov (born in 1954) is former State Secretary of Kyrgyz Republic (2000-2005), Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 28, 2012).

The Concept of ‘Yörük’ and the Yörüks of Bursa Region*

As of the middle of the 13th century Selçuk domination in Anatolia began to wane and Mongol pressure started to assert itself. In this regard, the West Anatolia region, which was characterized as the *uc* / frontier region, became the place where the Türkmen clans that lost their winter pastures in East and Central Anatolia gathered. There is information contained in sources from the early period regarding nomadic groups said to have thousands of tents gathering to the west of the Sinop-Antalya line. As the result of the Türkmen population gathering in the *uc* region, it can be said that important political entities and Türkmen Beyliks (principalities) were established. One of these principalities was the the Ottoman principality. Based on archival records from the 15th and 16th centuries, it may be possible to determine the groups that lived a nomadic life in the region, to make some judgements about that time and some assessments concerning the situation there after the West Anatolia region came under Ottoman administration. This situation also applies to Bursa, where the Ottomans came onto the stage of history, and for the nomads of the area.

The name ‘yörük’ is widely used for groups that lived a nomadic life in the West Anatolia region that includes the Bursa area. Although it is understood that the name ‘yörük’, which was a name given to a portion of the Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) who migrated to Anatolia from Central Asia, emerged within the geography of Anatolia, when it emerged is not known for certain. However, it has been determined that the origin of this word dates back much further in time. In this regard, we know that the word appears in Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century, in Kâşgarlı Mahmud’s *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* of the 11th century, in Yusuf Balasagun’s *Kutadgu Bilig* –also from the 11th century, and in Old Uighur Turkic texts, and that it relates to ‘yori-’ which means to step, to advance, to walk and to rise up¹.

* This article was published in the book *Bursa’nın Fethi ve Osman Gazi’yi Anma Sempozyumu (9-10 Nisan 2010) Kitabı: Osman Gazi ve Dönemi*, İstanbul 2010, pp. 23-36.

¹ This word appears in Orkhon inscriptions as “anta kalmışı yir sayu kop toru ölü yoriyur ertig” ve “bu yolın yorisar yaramaçı tedim”; in *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* as “ol angar yagru yorimas”; in *Kutadgu Bilig* as “yori tüz okıgıl anı sen menga”; in Old Uighur Turkic texts as “anda munda maru berü yoriyu” (see Nadalyaev and others, *Drevnyeturkskiy Slovar*, Leningrad 1969, p. 274. Also see Hatice Şirin User, *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uyğur Kağanlığı Yazıtları*, Konya 2009, pp. 338, 368, 379, 398).

Additionally, the word ‘yori-’ appears in the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* that was written in the second half of the 15th century². This situation shows that the ‘yori-’ verb was refined in Anatolia, first becoming ‘yörü-’ and then, with the addition of the ‘k’ suffix that makes a verb a noun, the term ‘yörük’ was the result. When we consider the word’s change from ‘yori’ to ‘yörü’ and its settling into speech primarily in this form, we see that it was more fitting to call these people ‘Yörük’, rather than ‘Yürük’³. This, of course, raises the question as to who may have given them the name ‘Yörük’. While it is not possible to say anything definite in this regard, it can be assumed that the name was given to them by the central administration, the bureaucrats of the central administration or by people other than the Yörüks themselves, and that over time they adopted it and used it for themselves. Meanwhile, when it comes to the name ‘Türkmen’ as used for nomads, this name certainly had a tribal nature at first but with time it became a term that referred to their lifestyle, in a manner similar to the meaning of ‘Yörük’. In the Ottoman archives sometimes Yörük and sometimes Türkmen is used for the same nomadic group or groups, showing that there was no conceptual difference between the two. It is worth noting, as well, that in the documents concepts such as ‘göçer’, ‘konar-göçer’ and ‘göçer-evli’ are used in addition to these two - Yörük and Türkmen-concepts.

In sources from the 16th century, which is considered the classic period of the Ottoman State, one notes that nomadic groups known as ‘Yörük’ lived within a social and administrative structure based first on ‘aile’ (family), above which were ‘cemaat, bölük, mahalle, tîr (arrow), oba, etc.’ And above these was ‘yörük’. ‘Aile’ comes at the head of the most basic units in nomadic groups, just as it does in settled communities, and it constitutes the first important layer in the determination of a person’s identity. The second layer is formed by the ‘cemaat’ and similar groups. ‘Cemaat’, which means community, and like groups have the nature among nomads of being the administrative, economic and social units where, primarily, very close relatives and related families come together. The top layer of this structure is ‘yörük’. To put it another way, the identity of an important portion of the nomads of West Anatolia, which included the Bursa region, was characterized by starting with the ‘aile’, adding the ‘cemaat’

² “İvden çıkup yoriyanda selvi boylum”; “Uçardan kaz tavuk yorırdan geyik tavşan bu havluya doldurup Oğuz yiğitlerine bunu dâm itmiş-idi (Muharrem Ergin, *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, I, Ankara 1989, pp. 79, 225). Also see Muharrem Ergin, *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, II, Ankara 1991, Index, p. 339, “yori-”.

³ Faruk Sümer states that the term “yörük” was used for the first time in literary sources in Yazıcızade Ali’s (*Tevarih-i âl-i Selçuk*) which was written in the 1430s. In this regard, see Faruk Sümer, “XVI. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak’ta Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI/1-4 (1952), pp. 518-519.

and similar groups which are formed from close relatives, above which was the 'yörük' and finally the state whose administration they were under.

This identification related to the Yörüks is based on their identification or applied identification solely as reflected in documents. There ought to be an identity that begins with their fathers and his family lineage and stretches on to, ultimately, the main unit of which they are members. Unfortunately we cannot determine such a thing in the documents. But among the Kyrgyz nomads in the geography of Kyrgyzstan, the source of nomadism, it has been determined that family members know their family trees going back to at least seven forefathers. In this regard, the saying '*Jeti atasyn bilbegen myrzasý emes Kyrgyzdyn*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers cannot be a Kyrgyz man) and the proverb '*Jeti atasyn bilbegen jetesiz*' (one who does not know his seven forefathers is worthless) are both widely spoken today, showing the importance among nomads of an identity tied to a forefather. Lineage formations with seven forefathers and the branches and shoots coming off this formation produce the social and administrative structure known by the name 'uruk' in the Kyrgyz community. Care is taken to avoid intermarriage among the generations, going back to the seven forefathers, so that healthier generations of the uruk, and therefore the community, are produced. The 'uruk' structure is similar to that of the 'cemaat, etc.' structure of the Yörük and Türkmen in Anatolia. After the uruk comes, in order, the *uruu* (clan) it is linked to, the *kanat* the *uruus* are tied to and, finally, the Kyrgyz *ulusu* (nation). This situation is important from the standpoint of showing us that the Kyrgyz identity has more than one dimension, it is layered. This identity is completed by the nomadic lifestyle. Abandoning the nomadic lifestyle or taking up settled life has just about the same meaning as losing one's identity. Giving up nomadic life or entering into settled life removes, even if only figuratively, one's Kyrgyz-ness or Kazakh-ness. This should be thought of as the nomadic philosophy. A layered identity structure similar to this makes us think that there was such a structure among the nomadic groups known by the names Türkmen and Yörük in Anatolia. The layered identity within these groups, even if with time some of the layers had been forgotten, began with the *aile*, continued with structures like the *cemaat*, *bölük*, *mahalle* and *oba*, then to the *boy* (clan) and finally to *Türkmen* or *Yörük*. From here it moved to the *devlet* (state), the administrative layer. These layers, which melted into one another and completed each other, should not be thought of, with an orientalist view, as stratification. In this regard, one must not consider this with concepts that would have every region having its own sociologic nature and set borders. Of course, if this layering and structure is not looked at as a whole then erroneous evaluations and assessments are unavoidable.

When one researches the Ottoman archival records of the 15th and 16th centuries, the existence of townships and villages which were clearly established by nomadic groups in the rural areas of Hüdavendigar subprovince at the center of Bursa is noteworthy. In this regard, in 1466 one of the *nahiyes* tied to Mihaliç was known by the name ‘Kayı’. There were 19 villages in this *nahiye*, known by the names Hintı, Sorkun, Çukurviran, Çörüş, Gürleyik, Narlı, Göçet, Çardak, Eğribayad, Ballık, Güncebükü, Çukurviran, Haliloğlanı, Sunkursarayı, Mahmudhisarı, İkikilise, Büğdüce, Oğuz and Köpek⁴. The fact that the administrative and military region in question was known by the name Kayı at such an early date in history must not be a coincidence. This situation is important from the standpoint of showing that there was a strong presence of the Kayı clan in the region where the Ottoman principality emerged. It is also noteworthy that in the 16th century archival records the following villages of districts in subprovince Hüdavendigar directly carried the names of Oğuz clans: Kızık and Karkın of Bursa; Bayad and Kınık of Bergama; Kayı and Eymir of İnegöl; Kınık of Yarhisar; Eymir and Kayı of Ermenipazarı (Pazarcık); Bayad of Geyve; Bayındır, Peçenek, Büğdüz, Beydili and Eymir of Beypazarı; Alayundlu, Avşar, Eymir, Karkın, Kınık and Kızık of Sirfihisar (Seferihisar); Avşar of Akyazı; Kınık of Adranos (Orhaneli); Çepni and Beydili of Aydıncık; Beydili, Kınık and Emir of Mihaliç (Karacabey); Eymir of Kirmasti (M. Kemalpaşa) and Ulubad; Çepni of Kite; Çepni and Bayındır of Göynük; and Bayad of Tarhala (Soma), Göle and Söğüd⁵. In addition, as shown by the examples of Akkeçilü, Alibeylü, Balabanlu, Baraklu, and Danişmendli⁶, the ‘lu, lü, li, li’ suffix at the end of so many village names gives the impression that the villages were settlements established by nomads. Also, many villages without this suffix should be considered as of ‘yörük’ origin, as well. The most typical example of this situation was the estab-

⁴ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [BA], *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* [MAD], nr. 8, 15b-16a, 23b-27a. Here two ‘*nahiyes*’ (townships) with the name Kayı of Mihaliç are mentioned. However, it should not be understood that these two townships were two separate townships of Mihaliç (Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yaya-Müsellem-Taycı Teşkilatı: XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı*, İstanbul 1990, pp. 92-93). The mistake stems from the fact that after Kayı *nahiye* of Mihaliç was written in the *defter*’s recordings (BA, MAD, 15b) and after three dependent villages were recorded under it, a title by the name “Nahiye-i Kayı” (Township of Kayı) was subsequently opened for Mihaliç (BA, MAD, 23b) and the dependent villages were mentioned under this *nahiye*.

⁵ *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)*, Dizin ve Tıpkı Basım, Ankara 1995, pp. 8, 15, 17; 19, 29, 35, 55, 66, 73, 82, 93, 98, 101, 105, 113, 117, 118, 123, 124, 126, 127, 130, 132, 134, 143, 149, 150, 158, 160, 173, 182, 188, 189; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan - Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigar Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, I, Ankara 1988, pp. 36-37, 69, 86, 96, 1135, 168, 379, 629, 636, 661, 677, 683.

⁶ *Anadolu Defteri*, pp. 66, 95, 190-191.

lishment of Çonkara (Congara) village, located eight kilometers from Bursa. Today Çonkara is called Yiğitalı and is tied to Osmangazi district. In 1455, though, it had an imam, 11 households with a total of 18 people; in 1530 the tax population was given as 21 households, 9 bachelors (nearly 100 people). In this same year the village took its place among the trust villages of Gazi Hüdavendigâr (Sultan Murad I), evidence that it had been established many years before⁷. During the years 1485-1530 in the Ottoman period, there was a Çonkara among the Varsak Türkmen of Kırşehir⁸; nomadic groups called Çongar (Congar) tied to the Pehlivanlu of the Bayad clan of the Aleppo Türkmen⁹; and a district of nomadic groups called Çongar (Congar) Çepnisi in the Sivas subprovince¹⁰, suggesting that the Çonkara village of Bursa may have been established by the nomadic group of the same name. This leads to the prospect that the aforementioned nomadic groups, which dispersed to various regions of Anatolia, may be related to the Cungars who established a state by the name of Jungar Khanate (1635-1758) in West Mongolia and who subsequently spread to the eastern side of the Caspian Sea. The Jungars were understood to be comprised of various clans¹¹.

In records from the 16th century of the Ottoman period, one finds detailed information about the yörük groups in Hüdavendigâr subprovince of Anatolia province. Despite the fact that these records do not go back to the very early periods, they give us information about the geographic distribution of the nomads of this century and allow us to make some precision estimates related to the past. In 1530 in Hüdavendigâr subprovince, together with the center Bursa there were 24 districts and 53 nomadic groups¹². According to Ömer Lütfi Barkan's calculations¹³, in that year in the sub-

⁷ For a noteworthy study of Çongara village's history from past to present, which used both archival documents and oral history materials, see Raif Kaplanoğlu, "Yiğitalı / Çongara Köyü", *Bursa-Osmangazi İlçesi İnkaya Yiğitalı Hüseyinalan Kırızlı, Keşiş / Uludağ Köyleri*, editors: Raif Kaplanoğlu-Sezai Özokutanoğlu, Bursa 2010, pp. 70-118.

⁸ BA, *Tapu-Tahrir Defteri* (TD), nr. 19, p. 313; BA, TD, nr. 998, pp. 654, 663, 680.

⁹ BA, *Halep TD*, nr. 493, pp. 902-903.

¹⁰ BA, MAD, nr. 9550, p. 4.

¹¹ 'Cungar' has the meaning of 'Sol Kol' (Left Arm) in the Mongol administrative and military system. It is understood that from the Mongolian word Jegün (Sol / Left) -egü->-u (egü became u) and as a result of joining it with Gar (Kol) the term Cungar emerged. Among the Mongols *Baragun Gar* is used for Sağ Kol (Right Arm). For general information about the political history of the *Jungars*, see İ. Ya. Zlatkin, *Istoriya Jungarskogo khanstva 1635-1758*, Moskva 1983.

¹² *Anadolu Defteri*, p. 197.

¹³ See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I/1(1957), p. 30; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Research on

province generally there were 1,600 nomad households, excluding nomad-origin soldiers, *yaya* and *müsellem*. The population between 1570 and 1580 was 2,000 households. If we examine the nomad populations in Menteşe subprovince of Anatolia province in 1530: 19,219, and between 1570-1580: 16,912; in Ankara subprovince in 1530: 9,484, and between 1570-1580: 23,911; and in Kütahya subprovince in 1530: 15,164, and between 1570-1580: 23,935; it is evident that the nomad population of the Bursa subprovince was not excessive. This situation may be explained by both the geography of the subprovince and by the nomads completing the process of settling in very early periods and establishing villages. In this regard, nomad groups were found mostly in the Söğüt and Bergama regions of the subprovince. These regions were followed by İnegöl, Mihaliç, Kepsut, Tarhala, Bursa, Domaniç, Adranos, Göynük, Beypazarı, Sifrihisar, Tuzla and Kite. As for the winter pasture areas within the subprovince, nomads were found mostly in districts like Domaniç, Ermenipazarı, İnegöl, Akhisar, Kepsut and Tarhala.

It has been determined that there were two *yörük* groups named Akçakoyunlu and Serhanlar in the area of Bursa, which was the center of Hüdavendigar subprovince. Of these, the Akçakoyunlu group had a population for tax purposes of 36 households and 16 bachelors in 1530; and 22 households and 40 bachelors in 1573¹⁴. As for the Serhanlar group, it had a tax population in 1530 of 23 households and 11 bachelors¹⁵. The appearance of the Akçakoyunlu, along with the important Yeniil and Aleppo Türkmen groups, in Bursa district must be an indication that they came to the West in the early periods.

The appearance of an important *yörük* group in Söğüt where the Ottomans first entered upon the stage of history should not be surprising. This group was known as the *Söğüt Yörüks*. Their being known by this name is based on the place where they were located. This group had a tax population in 1530 of 569 households and 188 bachelors (approximately 3,000 people)¹⁶ but there is, unfortunately, no information about which community groups or units they emerged from. The fact that they were recorded in a heading as 'müteferrik' (dispersed) shows that they were spread out in different areas in a scattered fashion. In 1573 the *Söğüt Yörüks* had a tax population of 757 households and 469 bachelors (approximately 4,200 people)¹⁷. It may be possible to determine both the names and the places of the groups that made up the *Söğüt Yörüks*, who at this date were scattered

the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, pp. 164-171.

¹⁴ *Anadolu Defteri*, p. 7; Barkan-Meriçli, pp. 13, 74.

¹⁵ *Anadolu Defteri*, p. 10; Barkan-Meriçli, pp. 42, 76.

¹⁶ *Anadolu Defteri*, p. 57.

¹⁷ Barkan-Meriçli, pp. 279-280.

about. In this regard, the *Söğüt Yörüks* were dispersed as 36 groups in the districts of the Hüdavendigar subprovince, as follows: 10 groups in the Kite region, six groups in Adranos, five groups in Akhisar, four groups in Kızılcaturza, three groups in Gönen, two groups each in İnegöl and Mihaliç, one group each in Bergama, Akyazı, İznik and Tophisar. This situation shows that the group known by the name *Söğüt Yörüks* did not remain in the Söğüt area, except for those who probably settled during the early periods and established villages, and migrated throughout Hüdavendigar and to neighboring subprovinces because of population increases, the need for summer pastures and economic reasons. A noteworthy aspect is that the nomadic group named Karakeçili, which is referenced in legends related to the Ottoman dynasty, is not one of the groups encountered here. However, two nomadic groups called 'Keçelü' are mentioned in the Adranos district¹⁸. The 'keçe' here refers to the rough material made by beating sheep wool that was used by a great many nomadic groups as the basic material for their tents. The fact that a Yörük group by the name of Karakeçili is not seen in the early period makes one think that the group's name may be related to 'kara+keçe' (black felt), rather than 'kara+keçi' (black goat)¹⁹. It seems possible that the Yörük group named Keçelü later on put the adjective 'kara' (black), from the color of their tents made of felt, in front of their name and thusly the 'kara+keçe' (black felt) construction resulted. One could suppose that, this being the case, over time the pronunciation of Karakeçelü changed to 'Karakeçili' and began to appear in records in this fashion. It should be said in this context, that this calls to mind the Kara Evli²⁰, one of the Oğuz clans or nomadic groups whose name, in research, is not encountered in Anatolia. To put it another way, in the meaning of marking a home or tent, one should not consider it unlikely that Karakeçeli could be substituted for Kara Evli. In a register record from the end of the 17th century, the Hacı Bayram oba, which was probably connected to the Bayramlu group of the Söğüt Yörüks in 1573, was shown as being a member of the Karakeçili community that came out of the Söğüt dispersal²¹ and this indicates that the Karakeçili name had become accepted and that some groups of the *Söğüt Yörüks* had been formed from the Karakeçililer.

Bergama was another area where the yörük groups of Hüdavendigar subprovince gathered in large numbers. In 1530 there was a tax population of the yörük groups in Bergama of 1193 households and 208 bachelors (approximately 6,200 people). One of these groups, which were recorded

¹⁸ Barkan-Meriçli, p. 279.

¹⁹ On this subject see, Peter Alford Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types in the Middle East*, I/1, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 342-343.

²⁰ Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler), Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilatı-Destanları*, İstanbul 1992, p. 189.

²¹ Kâmil Su, *Balıkesir ve Civarında Yörük ve Türkmenler*, İstanbul 1939, pp. 39-42.

as scattered and which had a tax population of 453 households and 58 bachelors, was settled in various villages in a dispersed fashion. Another group, which was known by the name Bergama Yörüks by reason of it being in the vicinity of Bergama, had 356 households and 6 bachelors in its population. The Karacalar constituted another important group, with a tax population of 333 households and 130 bachelors. Besides these, there were two small yörük groups named Yaycılar and Şehzade²². The Karacalar yörük group of Bergama was found not only there but important groups of Karacalar were encountered in other regions, as well. In this regard, a group with a tax population of 148 households and 53 bachelors was located in Tarhala; one with 69 households and 127 bachelors was in Kepsut; and one with 35 households and 19 bachelors was in Adranos district²³. In this regard, there was a dispersed group by the name of Karacadağ, with a tax population of 49 households and 6 bachelors, located in Mihaliç²⁴. Why the widely-used Karaca name was given to these groups is unknown but the name Karacadağ calls to mind the placed named Karacadağ which appears in legends about the founding of the Ottomans. In this regard, in Kepsut where the Karacalar group was found, there was the Korkutlar; in Tarhala the Avcılar and Deli Mustafa; and in Mihaliç where the Karacadağ Yörüks were found, there were two small nomadic groups by the names Keçililer and Eymirli. Another nomadic group known by the name Korkutlar was in Kite. The Keçililer group among the groups mentioned may have been the well-known nomadic group named Karakeçililer.

There were thinly-populated, scattered yörük groups in İnegöl district. In 1573, two of these groups had 51 households and 34 bachelors and were named Karabagi, and the others were named Kara Fakihler and Kagan²⁵. The Karabagi or Karabağlı groups found in the Afyon region have the same name and it calls to mind Karabağ of Azerbaijan. Besides these, there were two important nomadic groups, one in Beypazarı district – Ahmedçiler, and one in Sifrihisar-Aydınbeyli²⁶. Additionally, it is noteworthy that there was a yörük group in Domaniç district called Danishmendli, a name well-known in Anatolia and one which is found among groups in many regions²⁷. In addition, in Göynük there was a yörük group called the Kurbancıyan ('kurban' means sacrifice), because every year they presented the Ottoman Sultan with 15 sheep²⁸ as the *hass reaya*.

²² *Anadolu Defteri*, pp. 188, 191-192.

²³ *Anadolu Defteri*, pp. 174, 176, 188.

²⁴ *Anadolu Defteri*, p. 142.

²⁵ Barkan-Meriçli, p. 115.

²⁶ Barkan-Meriçli, p. 629.

²⁷ Barkan-Meriçli, p. 177.

²⁸ Barkan-Meriçli, pp. 541-542.

Until the end of the 16th century the yörük groups of Hüdavendigar subprovince did not exhibit much change in their geographic dispersal. However, toward the end of the century some nomadic groups, mostly members of the Bozulus Türkmenleri, began to move from Eastern Anatolia to Western Anatolia, because of the Celali disturbances and for economic reasons. Toward the end of the 17th century, a group known as the Aleppo Türkmenleri, because their motherland was the Aleppo region, moved toward Central and Western Anatolia because of pressure from Arab tribes like Aneze and Şammar. Similarly, quite a few nomadic groups of the Yeniil Türkmenleri, whose motherland was in the south of Sivas, made the same movement toward Central and Western Anatolia. We know that there were some who came as far as Hüdevendigar subprovince and settled there; and after the proclamation of the Tanzimat (modernization and reformation period of the Ottoman government in 1839) they began to live a settled life in winter pasture locations, as a consequence of the settlement policy that was implemented.

The most important aspect of being a *yörük* was taking maximum advantage of nature according to the season and conducting animal-based economic activity in the most productive manner. In this regard, they had an essential lifestyle called the summer pasture-winter quarter way of life. In the framework of this lifestyle, every *yörük* group had a summer pasture and winter quarter. So, every year with the coming of spring each yörük group would migrate from the winter quarter (kışla) to the summer pasture (yayla); and as winter approached they would move from the summer pasture back to the winter quarter. The summer pastures were normally high and set in the wide valleys in the mountains. Some *yörük* groups would start to graze their animals on the mountain slopes because the first months of spring were cold and then gradually wander up to the summer pasture in parallel with the warming of the weather. These places where the animals were grazed prior to moving to the summer pasture location were called 'yazla' (spring pasture). Some yörük groups would wander down from the summer pastures as the weather turned cold and avail themselves of the places on the mountain slopes for a while. These places were generally called 'güzle' or 'güzlek' (autumn pasture). This situation is important from the standpoint of showing that some yörük groups lived a life cycle that went winter quarter-spring pasture-summer pasture-autumn pasture; some had a cycle that went winter quarter-summer pasture-autumn pasture; and some had just a winter quarter-summer pasture cycle-all based on the relevant geographic and natural conditions. Naturally, a *yörük* culture and civilization was formulated in the framework of this life cycle and animal-based economic activities.

In the yörüks life cycle the migration to summer pastures had a special place, signaling as it did the coming of spring. Their summer pastures

were not just places to graze animals and engage in production, they also should be thought of as the places where nomadic groups from various regions and, in fact, from distant lands would come to meet, meld and synthesize their cultural values. This situation was also the case for the Yörüks of the Bursa region. In the records of the 16th century, summer pastures in the Bursa region were concentrated mostly in Domaniç, İnegöl, Ermenipazarı and Akhisar. In this regard, in 1530 in Hüdavendigâr subprovince there were 19 summer pastures and in 1573 there were summer pastures in districts of the subprovince as follows: in Domaniç 25; in İnegöl 14; in Ermenipazarı 11; in Akhisar 9; and in Kepsut and Tarhala one each. It is rather significant that an important portion of the summer pastures in the 16th century were those where, based on sources from the early period, the Ottomans had come on to the stage of history²⁹.

We see that the yörüks' summer pasture life continued in a lively way during the 19th century. In this regard, the famous Ottoman historian Joseph von Hammer made a journey in August 1804 from İstanbul, where he was working at the Austrian Embassy, to Bursa and Uludağ. In the record of his trip he wrote that as he climbed Uludağ he encountered yörüks spending their summer in the summer pastures and that the yörüks were comprised of about 800 families, with 40 or 50 families in the various valleys. Hammer wrote in a colorful style that the shepherds spoke Turkish and were brave, hard-working, capable and hospitable. Among other things, he gave the number of summer pastures used by Yörük or Türkmenler in Uludağ as 20 and he gave the names of some of these summer pastures as follows: Gazi, Erikli, Çukur, Sohta, Kaplı, Teferrüç, Şeyh, Murad, Kirazlı, Kulakdonduraç, Kızpınar, Sobra, Tombakçukuru, Çardak, Elmaçukuru and Çoban. One of these summer pastures, Gazi Yaylası, called Kazıyayla in the pronunciation of the local populace, is important as a central summer pasture from where Sultan Orhan directed the encirclement of the city of Bursa³⁰.

²⁹ Sources from the early periods of the Ottomans state that the forefathers of the Ottomans used Söğüt as winter quarters and Domaniç and Ermeni Mountains for summer pastures (see bk. Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman*, edition critique by Âlî Bey, İstanbul 1322, p. 4; Oruç Bey, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman*, edition critique by F. Babinger, Hannover 1925, pp. 7, 82; Mehmed Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, edition critique by F. R. Unat-M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, I, p. 65).

³⁰ Joseph von Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa und dem Olymp, und von da Zurück über Nicaa, und Nicomedien*, Pesth 1818, pp. 74-77 (After giving information about the locations of the summer pastures in these pages, Hammer listed all the names of summer pastures at the end of his work. For presentations and evaluations about Hammer's travel journal see Ayten Can Tunalı, "İstanbul'dan Bursa-Uludağ'a Bir Seyahat ve İznik-İzmit Üzerinden Geri Dönüş, Adolf Hartleben Verlag, Viyana 1818, X + 200 (Ekler, 167-182;

The most important aspect of migrating from the winter quarters to the summer pasture is the participation of all family members in the migration. In this regard, among the nomads those who do not migrate and participate are frowned upon. For example, in Kâşgarlı Mahmud's *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* one notes that someone who stays behind and sits back is characterized by the term 'yatuk', meaning lazy³¹. In this regard, Ali Rıza Yalın, who conducted research on the yörüks of the Bursa area in the 1950's, made some meaningful findings about yörük life and philosophy, in particular. In one of these findings, there is a quatrain recited by the nomads of the Bursa area:

*Ekme bağ bağlanırsın
Ekme ekin eğlenirsin
Çek deveyi gütt koyunu
Bir gün olur beylenirsin*³²

The meaning is that being tied to the land is not appropriate for the nomadic life, the main economic activity is sheep herding and this situation is a mark of wealth for them.

While the nomads migrated they took with them all their earthly goods, not just family members and animals. Most important among all these items were the tents that sheltered them in summer and winter. Among some nomadic groups in West Anatolia the tents were given the names 'Turluk' and 'Alacık'. The turluk tents of some groups were also known by the names 'Topak ev' and 'Derim ev'. The *turluk* was generally made from felt and although it is not possible to readily give a meaning for turluk, we note that the felt on the 'kerege', which forms the basic section of the tent known as 'Bozüi' among the Kyrgyz in Central Asia, is called 'tuurduk' and the same term is used among the Kazakhs as 'tugyrlyk', among the Türkmén as 'durluk' and among the Mongols as 'tuurga'. So, while the word refers to the felt over the basic part of the tent among many nomadic groups in West Anatolia, as with nomads in Central Asia, some nomadic groups refer to the entire tent as 'Turluk' or 'Turluk ev'. Thusly, the basic concept of a tent and its parts from inner Central Asia became the basic name for a tent in Anatolia. Hammer's description of the tents of the Yörük and Türkmén who climbed to the summer pastures at Uludağ as

Yazıtlar 185-200)", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XXIV /37 (2005), pp. 333-339; Zeynep Dörtok Abacı, "Avusturyalı Osmanlı Tarihçisi Joseph von Hammer Purgstall'ın Bursa İzlenimleri (Ağustos 1804)", *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Sayı 15, 2008/2, pp. 395-407.

³¹ Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* (translator: B. Atalay), III, Ankara 1941, pp. 14-15.

³² Ali Rıza Yalın, "Uludağ Türkmén Etnoğrafyası", *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no 9 (Nisan 1950), p. 137.

bow-shaped³³ and convex leads one to believe that these tents were very probably ‘Turluk’, ‘Topak ev’ and ‘Derim ev’-type tents. It is noteworthy, as well, that the ‘Alacık’ was another tent type transferred from Central Asia to Anatolia. The color of the cover made from wool or hair on this tent was ‘alacalı’ (speckled) and patched, making the naming of the tent ‘Alacık’ very relevant.

In closing, we can say that the ‘yörük’ term used to refer to the nomadic groups of West Anatolia, including Bursa, is a Turkish word whose roots go far back in time. Additionally, from records in documents and from the examples obtained by looking at the other nomadic groups of Central Asia that migrated over time, we note that the Yörüks intermingled with each other and completed each other, achieving a layered identity. These layers should be thought of and evaluated as something naturally special to the nomads and not from the perspective of orientalists or with theories and concepts within the limits of a particular discipline. It may be possible to explain the paucity in the 16th century of yörük groups in Bursa, the center of the Hüdavendigâr subprovince, and many other districts, by the fact that they had completed the settling process in the early periods. In archival records, nomadic groups and summer pastures are mostly shown as being located in Söğüt, Domaniç, Ermenipazarı, İnegöl and Akhisar, where the Ottomans first took the stage of history, and this coincides with information from the chronicles of Ottoman history’s early period. It is worth noting here that the yörüks shared both similar, and in many respects, identical social structures and civilization values with the nomadic groups of Central Asia. This situation makes it clear that the history of Central Asia should not be neglected if one wants to put research about the history and community of the Ottoman State, which emerged at the westernmost point of Asia, on a more solid footing.

³³ Joseph von Hamer, p. 75.

Urban-Rural Relations in the Transition Period: The Case of an Animal Bazaar in Kyrgyzstan*

Introduction

It is known that bazaars are primary locations where intensive social, economic and commercial exchanges take place. Bazaars, emerging from eastern civilization, are also places connecting rural and urban areas. In this regard, bazaars vary according to the materials of exchange, such as food products, animal and other items of trade. Among them are bazaars specializing in animal husbandry, as well. In the Kyrgyz Republic, such bazaars constitute a model for animal markets. We can see livestock animal bazaars in the cities and towns of Karakol, Kochkor, Sokuluk, Alaï and Atbashy during the Soviet period re-transition period and its aftermath. In this article, I will concentrate on such a bazaar, by the name of Mürök, in Tokmok city.

Tokmok is a city in northern Kyrgyzstan, and lies at a distance of 60 kilometres from the capital city, Bishkek, and at a distance of 10 kilometres from Burana (Balasagun), known as the capital of the mediaeval state of the Karakhanids. Tokmok is located in the Chuï Valley where urban culture and commercial life became highly developed in the period of the Turkic Khaganates (Khanates) in the 6th and 13th centuries¹.

In addition, a very important branch of the Silk Road passed through this region. The first settlements of present-day Tokmok city started to appear in the Chuï Valley at the beginning of the 19th century. As far as it is known, Tokmok, surrounded by city walls in the period of Khokand sovereignty, acquired the character of a 'military' base controlling the road into the Chuï Valley². From the mid-19th century, Tokmok was under Rus-

* It was published in Ajay Patnaik & Tulsiram (eds.), *The Post-Soviet States: Two Decades of Transition & Transformation*, New Delhi 2012, pp. 189-200.

¹ For a recent monographic study related to the period of Turkic Khaganates which developed urban culture and trade in the Chuï Valley, see V. D. Goryacheva, *Gorodskaiâ kultura tyurkskikh kaganatov na Tyan-Shane (seredina VI-nachala XIII v.)*, Bishkek 2010.

² For more information on Khokand Khanate, see V. M. Ploskikh, *Kirgizyi Kokandskoe khanstvo*, Frunze 1977. For a political and geographic report written by Russians related to the Khokand Khanate before the Russian sovereignty, see "Obozrenie kokanskago khanstva v nyneshnem ego sostyanii", *Zapiski russkago geografi-cheskago obshchestva*, III, Sankt-Peterburg 1849, pp. 176-216.

sian sovereignty and then it became the centre of the province, established in the Chuï Valley, under the name Tokmok. During the Soviet period Tokmok developed as a trading and industrial centre. Tokmok became the centre of the Chuï province in the independent Kyrgyz Republic in 1991, and it now has approximately 60,000 inhabitants³.

This research is based on numerous expeditions and field studies made between the years 2008 and 2011 in the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok. At first, in order to make a preliminary study and to see the Mürök bazaar, I went to Tokmok a couple of times with my young colleagues, Kaïrat Belek, Muratbek Kojobekov and Baktybek İsakov. After gathering preliminary information on the bazaar, I continued visits to the site for observations and field studies.

In this study, I argue that the transition period represents a turbulent period of change particularly for civil society. During this period, civil structures and organizations serving the people gained importance without receiving state subsidies and without creating a burden for the state. The Mürök bazaar in Tokmok is a typical example of this. Specifically it owes its success to the fact that it acted as a mediator between the rural and urban areas in developing social, economic and commercial relations and creating employment for rural and urban populations.

Historical background

In the course of our research, we learned that the previous livestock bazaar during the Soviet period stood at the site of the present-day mosque called ‘Dostuk Mechit’ (Mosque)⁴. According to an informant⁵, the establishment of this bazaar goes back to 1920s. Due to limited space, the bazaar moved probably in 1976 or 1977 to the outskirts of Tokmok, its present location⁶. According to informants, at the beginning its location was about one-third of its present size, while the number of sellers in the bazaar was minimal due to the Soviet system. Soviet practice did not encourage the development of the livestock bazaar, nor did it permit free trade. Therefore,

³ For general information on Tokmok, see “Tokmok”, *Kyrgyz Sovet Entsiklopediyasy*, V, pp. 629-631.

⁴ This mesjit (Mosque) including service rooms and a large garden, according to its imam, was established between 1991 and 1994 (Interview on 20 November 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan).

⁵ Mirsharif Pazyljanov (born in 1932) is from Tokmok city, Chuï oblast (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011); Masudahan Pazyljanov (born in 1935) is from Tokmok city, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011).

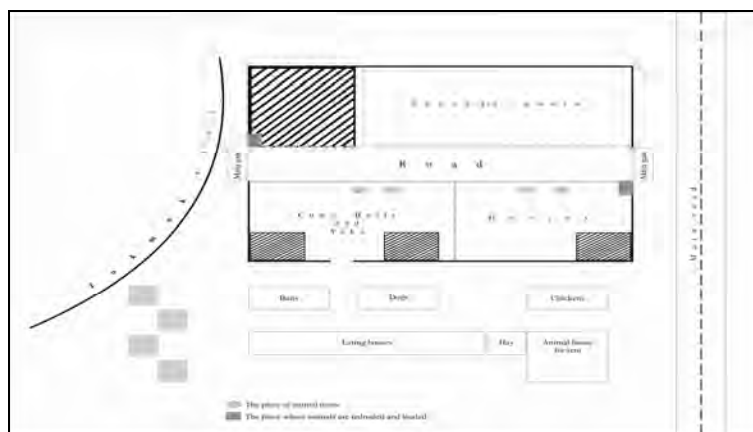
⁶ Murzapar Aïtaliev (born in 1968) is from Kashka Suu aïyl (village), Aksy raïon (district), Jalalabat oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011); Mirsharif Pazyljanov, see note 5.

people did not have the possibility of owning enough animals to be sold in the markets. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the development of market economy, livestock bazaars gradually gained importance, and the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok entered into a process of development. In 1997, the location of the bazaar was enlarged to its present size by its owner (bazarkom), Ashymbek Sydygaliev⁷. At present, the central part of the bazaar where animals are kept is approximately more than three hectares.

Following the transformation in the 1990s, the name of the bazaar changed as well. In 1997, the bazaar was named Mürök by its owner, Ashymbek Sydygaliev. This word mentioned in the *Manas* epic as ‘müröktün suusu’ means ‘immortal waters’⁸. This means that such a name was given in the wish and hope that the bazaar would remain for a long time. This must also mean that the people wished to return to their own culture after independence.

Description of the bazaar

The Mürök bazaar is one of the largest livestock bazaars in the Kyrgyz Republic. The animals are brought to the Mürök bazaar from various bazaars in the districts of Naryn, Isyk Köl, Osh and Jalalabat provinces and from rural areas. Its importance as a link to the other bazaars in the region became the principal reason for the enlargement of the Mürök bazaar.



The Plan of Mürök Bazaar

⁷ Omor Jamangulov (born in 1965) is from Burana aйл, Chuї raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on October 12, 2008, and second interview on November 20, 2011); Murzapar Aїtaliev, see note 6; Jamal Suleiman (born in 1953) is from Burana aйл, Chuї raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011); Adyl Nurmatov (born in 1932) is from Tokmok city, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011); Sadat Іmanhojaeva (born in 1933) is from Tokmok city, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011).

⁸ See E. Abdylдаev, “Müröktün Suusu”, *Manas Entsiklopediya*, II, Bishkek 1995, p. 119.

The Bazaar has two large entrances, one of them on the eastern side and the other on the western side. Animals and animal-loaded vehicles use these gates for entering and for leaving. In the bazaar, there are a couple of loading docks for animals brought in by the vehicles. Overlooking the bazaar can be seen a bit of a mix-up among animal stalls. However, the space of the bazaar is separated into sections according to animal stalls.



The entrance of the bazaar

On the left side of the eastern entrance of the bazaar, one can see a section reserved for horses called 'jylky turgan jer'. Cattle and yaks are housed in a section called 'kara mal turgan jer'. On the right side, goats and sheep are kept in a section called 'koï echky turgan jer'. There are also sections where items related to the animals are sold, such as tethers, saddles and horseshoes. Also, there are three places on the left side of the main road and a place on the left side where animals are unloaded from and loaded onto vehicles.



Supplementary part of the bazaar

On the south wall of the bazaar, there are some small turnstiles where only people can pass. Outside the southern wall there is a market place where chickens, geese, ducks, pigeons, hares and dogs are sold, apart

from animal feed. This part of the bazaar is an important place consisting of 15 restaurants (ashkana), 3 salt shops for animals, 1 veterinary pharmacy (veterinarnaya apteka), and 1 restroom (tualet). This is actually the section of the bazaar which is totally service-oriented towards the entire Mürök bazaar community (see figure 1).

Bazaar and Time

One of the most important issues related to bazaars is time. The week and seasons of the year are issues that affect the functioning of bazaars. In accordance with these time periods, the number of animals and their prices in bazaars could increase or decrease. In this connection, we are obliged to update our research on a weekly basis. The Mürök bazaar in Tokmok works on the seventh day of the week, which means on Sundays⁹. On that day, intensive shopping is carried out in the bazaar. However, the animals must reach the bazaar the day before it opens. On opening day, the number of animals gradually increases in a kind of snowballing effect. In the evening this density reaches its peak and the process is renewed.

It should be pointed out that bazaars in other regions operate on other days of the week at variance with the Mürök bazaar. For instance, the first animal bazaar of the week operates in several villages of Aksy district in Jalalabat on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Following this, larger animal bazaars function in the district centres and provinces, such as Jalalabat, Naryn, Atbashy, Aktalaa and Kazarman on Thursdays and Fridays¹⁰. On Saturdays, the sixth day of the week, an animal bazaar operates in the district of Kochkor. The bazaar in Kochkor is the largest one in rural regions of the country. That is why the Kochkor bazaar operates a day before the Mürök bazaar. And the other small bazaars in rural areas specify their day of operation in accordance with the Kochkor bazaar. The Mürök bazaar works on Sundays, the last day of the week. The difference is that animals are brought to this bazaar from other bazaars by brokers with camions; and so, this bazaar has become one of the largest animal bazaars in Kyrgyzstan to work on the last day of the week. One of the peculiarities of this bazaar is that the animal dealers and owners from near or distant places bring their animals to sell at this bazaar. This situation plays a significant role in establishing a balance

⁹ Nurlan Alymkulov (born in 1976) is from Beışheke aйл, Kemin район, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011); Düşön Kaїranov (born in 1965) is from Aral aйл, Chuї район, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

¹⁰ Nurlan Abdyldaev (born in 1967) is from Kurtka aйл, Aktalaa район, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011); Moldobek Kalnazarov (born in 1967) is from Kurtka aйл, Aktalaa район, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011); Jamal Suleiman, see note 7.

in prices of the wide variety of animals sold in the bazaar. In this connection, customers come to the market from near and far distant places.

The second issue related to time is the season. It seems that every season affects animal bazaars in accordance with their own particular features. In general, spring season is a period that follows the hard winter days. Therefore, the animals which are brought to the bazaar during this season are weak. Animals fed with special meat are sold at high prices in the bazaar¹¹. For this reason, it is impossible to have crowds of animals in these seasons in the bazaar. Of course, a situation that has a significant effect on the animals is that they usually must give birth in spring. Summer is a season when the animals are moved by their owners in Kyrgyzstan to summer pastures to graze. Since not too many animals are brought to the bazaar in this season, prices also become higher. The season that is most intense for the animals in the bazaars is fall. The animals, after being fattened by the beginning of this season start to return from summer pastures. Owners of animal herds who wish to replenish their herds bring many animals to the bazaars for sale before the animals give birth and before they move to summer pastures. Especially in the fall season on Sundays, the number of animals in the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok reaches to high numbers - as many as 2,000. This growth continues until the middle and even through the end of the winter season¹².

Bazaar Society

The marketing of livestock appears to be a complex process based on three major steps-(1) procurement and source of the livestock, (2) transportation to the bazaar and (3) marketing of the livestock.

Different groups are formed in each one of the three stages. Each group has its own function that contributes to a functional network accompanying the three stages. A number of groups take part in this network. We learned through our research that people coming from various sectors of the society work or take part in the Mürök bazaar. Against this background, I believe that a term we can use to describe these people coming from all walks of life would be 'bazar koomu' (bazaar society). We can describe them also as the pioneers of civil society that emerged in the process of an uncertain period of transition.

For a more detailed description to the 'bazar koomu', we can mention various names and titles such as 'alyp sataar' (buyer and seller), 'mal

¹¹ Omor Jamangulov, see note 7; Almaz Osmonov (born in 1977) is from Tokmok city, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

¹² Maksat Apilov (born in 1980) is from Kurtka aïyl, Aktalaa raïon, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

tartkan' (transporter of livestock on trucks), 'bazarkom' (a private person, owner of the bazaar), 'kontroler' (controller), 'ortomchu / daldalchy' (broker). These are self-established professional groups within the market.

Among these, the 'alyp sataar' group appears as a major group playing a more dynamic and efficient role among the bazaar society¹³. An analysis of this 'alyp sataar' group leads us to believe that they used to belong to other professions during Soviet times. For instance, in the Mürök bazaar, Almaz Osmonov was an economist in the past, Nurlan Abdylbaev was a zoo-technician¹⁴, Murzapar Aitaliev was a technologist¹⁵, Almaz Osmonov was an economist¹⁶, Anarbek Abykeev was a farmer¹⁷, Mahmutjan Sabirov was a driver¹⁸, Shaïloobek Kampabekov was an improvisator (*tökmö akyn*)¹⁹, Anarbek Kichinebaï was a butcher²⁰, and Joldoshbek Beïshebaev was a driver²¹. In addition, Jamal Suleiman has been an 'alyp sataar' since the Soviet period²². There are people without any profession as well. One of them we met is Maksat Apilov²³. Such people having no prospects in other fields within the transition period and thereafter try to make a lucrative business in a market economy by joining the bazaar society. In addition, the 'Alyp sataar' group consists of not only men, but also women²⁴ as seen

¹³ Different terminology is used in different regions to mean the *alyp sataar* group. In Naryn region they are called *mal algandar*. In Osh and Jalalabat, they are called *jylky alarman*, in Isyk-Köl region they are called *jylky alyjuu*. In pre-Soviet and Soviet times, they were called *kyzyl kulak* or *chaïkoochu*. *Kyzyl kulak* indicates that the *alyp sataar* were not a welcome people within society in the Soviet period. The second term may suggest the qualification of the person as someone earning money without any effort by only being an intermediary in the livestock trade. In traditional society and culture, traders were not really appreciated. This approach is much stronger in rural areas.

¹⁴ For Nurlan Abdylbaev, see note 10.

¹⁵ For Murzapar Aitaliev, see note 6.

¹⁶ For Almaz Osmonov, see note 11.

¹⁷ Anarbek Abykeev (born in 1976) is from Beisheke aïyl, Kemin raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

¹⁸ Mahmutjan Sabirov (born in 1949) is from Tokmok city, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November, 13 2011).

¹⁹ Shaïloobek Kampabekov (born in 1970) is from Atbashy raïon, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²⁰ Anarbek Kichinebaï (born in 1978) is from Ottuk aïyl, Naryn raïon, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²¹ Joldoshbek Beïshebaev (born in 1960) is from Alchaly aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²² For Jamal Suleiman, see note 7.

²³ For Maksat Apilov, see note 12.

²⁴ Luba Shutova (born in 1957) is from Isyk-Ata raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on October 12, 2008); Aïnagül İmanova (born in 1960) is from Isyk Kol

in many bazaars in Kyrgyzstan, such as Osh bazaar, Dordoï bazaar and Alamüdün bazaar.



A view from the bazaar



Another view from the bazaar

The ‘*alyp sataar*’ group in general consists of three sub-divisions. The first group consists of people who visit villages in rural areas to purchase and collect livestock to bring to the closest market in rural areas. They are local *alyp sataars* operating within their districts. These local ‘*alyp sataars*’ are active in almost all districts of Kyrgyzstan. Their numbers vary according to the size of the local markets and the quantity of the livestock that they are trading. For instance, there are 25-30 ‘*alyp sataars*’ in Bayetov²⁵, the centre of the district of Aktalaa comprising 15 villages. They are active in all of these villages. It is useful to mention also that in general these people work individually. In Baïetov, the livestock bazaar is set up on Fridays. The ‘*alyp sataars*’ trade in villages with the aim of reaching the bazaar by Friday.

The second ‘*alyp sataar*’ group is composed of traders who buy livestock in the district bazaars. This group acts as a direct ‘mediator’ between rural and urban areas. In other words, they are the people who not only buy the livestock to bring to the Mürök bazaar but also they are the people who establish contacts and connections between the towns and rural areas. Therefore, we can call this group the main dynamic of the bazaar society.

The third group of ‘*alyp sataar*’ work within the Mürök bazaar. They purchase the herds, paying a gross price and reselling them retail in the market. This sector consists of people living in and around Tokmok. They have all the means of observing developments in the Mürök bazaar since they live there. Their number exceeds 100. Within this group not only ethnic

raion, Isyk Kol oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011); Aida Düşenbieva (born in 1974) is from Naryn raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²⁵ Moldobek Kalnazarov, see note 10.

Kyrgyz are active but people from different origins, such as Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Dughans, Tatars, Akhyska Turks, etc. are also operational²⁶.

The 'mal tartkan' group constitutes the second largest group among the bazaar society. They operate depending on the 'alyp sataar'. Their possessions are the trucks used for transport. Their duty is to reach the Mürök bazaar with the livestock they transport. Their trucks are of different brands, such as Kamaz, Zil, Gaz-24, Gaz-52 and Gaz-53. These are the transport vehicles inherited from the Soviet period. The owners of these trucks are essentially drivers who later owned their vehicles through the privatization process following the independence of Kyrgyzstan²⁷. In the fall, a period of concentrated activity in the Mürök bazaar, the number of vehicles entering the bazaar reaches about 100. Including drivers' assistants, one can say that the number of people included in this group is around 200. Together with their assistants, the 'mal tartkan' group comprises about 1,500 persons. The 'mal tartkan' in general come from the local market districts. Among these one can see some 'alyp sataar' as well. The 'mal tartkan' receive a transportation fee according to the number of livestock they transport. The cost of transport changes according to the distance and the gender of the animal. For example, for each head of cattle and for each horse transported from Aktalaa an amount of 1,000 soms (approx. US\$ 25) and from the village of Akchaly in the neighborhood of Tokmok an amount of 300 soms (approx. US\$ 7) is usually paid²⁸.

Another group of the bazaar society could be called the bazaar administration. It includes the owner of the bazaar and the bazaar staff as well. In the bazaar, the owner of the market is called 'bazarkom'. The last 'bazarkom' of the bazaar was Ashymbek Sydygaliev who died three years ago. At the present time, this duty has been assumed by his sons and bridegroom, Omor Jamangulov. About seven or eight people, mostly relatives of the 'bazarkom', work to assist the 'bazarkom'. They normally stand on the sidelines of the entrances to the bazaar to supervise the movements of the cattle. Thus, they are called 'kontrolers' (controllers). In addition, there are officials in the bazaar. They are the veterinarians and the 'militsia' (police). The 'militsia' in the Mürök bazaar are also called 'sakchy' which means 'protector or preserver' in bazaar terminology. In the Mürök bazaar, there are about 6 'militsia' officers and six veterinarians.

²⁶ Luba Shutova, see note 24; Jamal Suleiman, see note 7; Düşön Kaïranov, see note, 9; Asman Kadimoglu (born in 1956) is from Yurevka aïyl, Isyk-Ata raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²⁷ Joldoshebek Beishebaev, see note 21; Amurkan İsmailov (born in 1963) is from Yurevka aïyl, Isyk-Ata raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

²⁸ Maksat Apilov, see note 12; Joldoshebek Beishebaev, see note 21.

Another group of people in the bazaar society, even though very few in number, were the ‘ortomchu’ or ‘daldalchy’ (brokers), whom we met in the bazaar in 2008. They walk around the bazaar surveying the offers and demands of the market. They are the people who introduce the customers and sellers to the relevant price levels. However, we did not meet them during recent observations in the bazaar. According to an informant, the reason is that the ‘alyp sataars’ do the bargaining themselves, and therefore, they do not need an ‘ortomchu’ or ‘daldalchy’ at the present time.



An ‘alyp sataar’ (buyer and seller) in the bazaar



An ortomchu or daldalchy (broker) in the bazaar

Bazaar and the State

The relationship between the state and the bazaar can be seen from two approaches. The first one is the study of the intervention of state authorities in the steps involved in transporting the livestock from their region to the bazaar. In the bazaar, there are no random offers and purchases of the livestock. Government authorities interfere in three stages: at the source in the rural areas, in the local markets, and at check points on the roads and in the Mürök bazaar. In the village, the ‘Aïyl Ökmöt’ (village administration) and the veterinarian first issue a document (spravka). This document shows the colour and age as well as the health of the animal. This constitutes the first intervention by state authorities at the source.

The second intervention by state authorities takes place in the local markets. At the entrance of the local bazaars, the documents issued by the ‘Aïyl Ökmöt’ are controlled by the ‘militia’ and a veterinarian, and another document is issued by them to give the owner of the livestock permission to enter and to sell the livestock in the local market. These documents are necessary in order to leave the market with the purchased livestock. The livestock trucks bound for the Mürök bazaar are controlled at check points called ‘bajy’.

The third intervention by government authorities takes place at the entrance to the Mürök bazaar. All documents are controlled there by the veterinarians and the 'militia'. They then issue new documents called 'talon' (in Russian) which are checked at the exit from the bazaar.

The second approach to study the relationship between the state and the bazaar consists of analyzing the management of the bazaar. The area of the Mürök bazaar is private property belonging to one person called the 'bazarkom'. The owner of the property and his assistants are responsible for the security of the bazaar, but they do not interfere in the management. They only supervise the entrance and exit of animals to and from the bazaar. The internal functioning of the bazaar is organized by the 'alyp sa-taar' people themselves. As mentioned, some of the informants in the Mürök bazaar said that they have never seen the 'bazarkom'. It is interesting to note that the relationship between the government authorities and the management of the bazaar has proven to be very weak. The veterinarians are not appointed by the government; they are recruited by the 'bazarkom'.

As we observed during the field research, the bazaar has two problems. One is cleanliness, and the other is security. Also, when it rains, the bazaar space turns into a swamp. During rainy days, the buyers and sellers perform their transactions in very dirty places. Besides, there is no lightening system in the bazaar. Therefore, the sellers and buyers have to use hand torches when the Mürök bazaar starts at midnight.

In this context, we need to talk about the issue of security, because in the absence of a lighting system informants told us that some buyers and sellers were robbed in the dark²⁹. What is interesting here is that the 'militia' and security guards reacted very weakly. That is why the sellers of the bazaar try to solve their security problems by themselves.

Kinship Relations

According to our observations, there are several types of kinship relations in bazaar society. Generally, a variety of kinship relations can be seen, but here we will emphasize only two of them. These are the group of relatives and the sense of fellow countrymen (aïldash).

The group of relatives is interesting because during the field research in the Mürök bazaar we met several groups of relatives who were engaged with animal dealings in the bazaar. For example, Cholponbek Düşenbiev, who migrated from Naryn in 1994, bought a house in Tokmok and he has several animal courtyards for different kinds of animals in his present house³⁰. He keeps a lot of horses, cows and sheep there. He has four mar-

²⁹ Aınagül İmanova, see note 24.

³⁰ Cholponbek Düşenbiev (born in 1947) is from Ottuk aïyl, Naryn raïon, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

ried daughters and all of them live in Tokmok, specifically in the neighborhood of their fathers. Since the husbands of three of them work in the Mürök bazaar, they keep very close relations with the house of father Cholponbek Düşenbiev. All those sons-in-law are animal dealers (*alyp sataar*) and they engage in independent business with each other. In this connection, they can help each other in many bazaar activities, including financial support like short-term borrowing. At the end of the bazaar, all of them bring their unsold animals to their father-in-law, Cholponbek.

The second kin relation in the bazaar is the relationship among the fellow countrymen. The best example of this is the relationship between the truck owners and animal dealers. In this connection, many animal dealers take animals from their home villages and of course they choose the truck owners from the same village in order to carry the animals to the bazaar. That is why many animal dealers do business with their fellow countrymen. Especially in the transportation in animals, one truck owner told me that if he could not sell his animals in the bazaar, it is possible to pay the truck owner a couple weeks later. This is because they are fellow countrymen.

Bazaar and Money

Markets are undoubtedly places where money is circulated. When we talk about animal markets in Kyrgyzstan, the amount of money circulated there is extensive. The Mürök bazaar is a very good example of this. In addition, the Mürök bazaar serves as a central place for the circulation of money between urban and rural areas. In other words, a network has been created among the animal bazaars, and thus the money flows towards rural areas within the network. For instance, in the case of the Mürök bazaar, animal dealers bring a large amount of money which they made in urban animal markets to very far distant rural places. If we take into consideration animal prices in urban markets, for example, horses 50,000 soms (approx. US\$ 1072)³¹ per head, cows per head cost 30,000 soms (approx. US\$ 643), sheep 4,500 soms (approx. US\$ 96) per head, and goat 2,000 soms (approx. US\$ 42), this is a clear indicator of how large amounts of money are transferred to rural areas.

Secondly, we need to take into account another area in the circulation of money. This is the money which is used to transport animals from rural bazaars to urban bazaars. Specifically this is the money which is paid for transportation to the truck and lorry owners (*mal tartkan*) by the animal dealers. The vehicles can carry from 6 to 11 head of cattle, or 20 sheep or goats, according to vehicle size, and the prices vary according to distance. For example, vehicle owners get between 800 (approx. US\$ 17) and 1,000 soms (approx. US\$ 21) per head of cattle and 350 soms (approx. US\$ 7,5) per head

³¹ 1 \$ (USD) = 46,6 Kyrgyz *som*.

of small-scale animals like sheep, for a distance of about 500 kms. Also, vehicle owners get between 300 (approx. US\$ 6,4) and 400 soms (approx. US\$ 8,5) per head of cattle and 100 (approx. US\$ 2) or 150 soms (approx. US\$ 3) per head of small-scale animals like sheep, for a short distance.

Apart from this, there are other fees which are collected by officials for the state. These are the veterinarians and policemen. For example, veterinarians provide security references on the health of the animals at the source and second, security references are given by the local policemen at the entrance to the bazaars. These references help the animal dealers or owners of the animals to reach the bazaars and to pass legally through control stations. Here some emphasis could be made to official withdrawals of money for the state: 40 soms for veterinarians, 20 *soms* for policemen for cattle and yaks, and 15+5 soms for sheep and goats for the same officials. In addition, at the entrance, 30 soms per head of cattle like horse and cow and 15 soms per head of sheep and goats are paid to the bazaar administration. Also, the bazaar administration gets 25 soms at the entrance for a camion (gruzoviy avtomashini), 20 soms for a small car (legkoviye and mototsikl), and 21 soms for a small camion, Uaz (Uralskiy Avtomobilniy Zavod) and Raf (Rigiskaya Avtomobilnaya Fabrika)³².

Animal Sources and Composition

Nomadism was considered a way of life of Kyrgyz society in the pre-Soviet times. It is a fact that livestock herding was the main economic activity. Within this context, Kyrgyz society was totally integrated into both the nomadic way of life and livestock herding. Thus, nomadism or pastoral life has never stopped functioning in Kyrgyzstan. The underlying reason is that 95 per cent of the geographical area of Kyrgyzstan consists of hills and mountains. And the wide pastures like Son-Köl, Suusamyr and Arpa have been used in pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet times by Kyrgyz pastoralist families³³.

In the years of collectivization, animals were forcibly transferred from private hands to state property. The state created paid herders called 'chaban' to herd the animals that were collected. The Soviet state tried to take advantage of animal husbandry for economic interests, and so paid

³² These prices are based on the priceboard hanging at the entrance of the bazaar. The "raf" term here is written incorrectly as the "rav".

³³ For wider information see Baktybek Isakov, *XX. Yüzyılın Başından Bugüne Kadar Sonköl'deki Yayla Hayatı*, Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, unpublished PhD, Bishkek 2011; İlhan Şahin, "Social and Economic Changes in the Transition: The Case of Suusamyr Valley in Kyrgyzstan", in S. Chatterjee-A. Sengupta (eds.), *Communities, Institutions and 'Transition' in Post-1991 Eurasia*, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 317-325.

extra attention and gave multi-directional support to the provinces where most of population was engaged in livestock herding.

But within this context, it is a fact that families owned limited numbers of animals in their households. People were not allowed to increase the numbers of animals, but they could increase their varieties. So before and after collectivization, Kyrgyz families used to have six kinds of animals, which included horses, cows, camels, yaks, sheep and goats. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the animal husbandry sector also fell. Actually all the animals belonging to the state were distributed to families on a person-by-person basis. Here, the core of private animals within households was a mixture of private and state-given animals. At present, most of the animals circulated in the bazaar network originate from the animals of households in rural areas.

As for the composition of the animals in the bazaar, there is a famous Kyrgyz phrase related to their animal species: '*tört tülük mal*' means 'four kinds of animals'. These are horses (jylky), cows (uï), sheep (koï) and goats (echky). It is a fact that the actual composition of animals in the Mürök bazaar consists of these animals. However, apart from these animals, it is possible to find small numbers of other kinds of animals, such as yaks (topoz) and camels (töö). As far as can be observed, the largest number of animals can reach 2,000 in the bazaar in fall. Animals included in this number consist of approximately 55 per cent sheep and goats, 25 per cent cows, 17 per cent horses and 3 per cent camels and yaks.

Conclusion

The transition period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union brought a lot of unexpected social, economic, administrative and political problems. People faced with this situation are still trying to cope. In our opinion, traditional methods and values are seen as a way out, and the emerging market assumes greater importance. Therefore, bazaar culture has never lost its function. It is becoming even more common and diversified. As in the case of the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok, the emergence of animal markets in Kyrgyzstan shows that Kyrgyz society has preserved their traditional lifestyles, partly during the Soviet period. Here it should be noted that in periods, such as the transition period, relations and connections between the towns and rural areas were weak. However, important structures, such as bazaars, play an intermediary role between the two areas. In this connection, bazaars refresh social and economic relations between the towns and rural areas.

Kinship Relations in Kyrgyzstan Following the Transition Period: The Case of Küntuu Village*

The Kyrgyz people represent one of the most ancient nations of Central Asia. They are a people who have preserved the traditional features of nomadic lifestyle even until today. Besides, they still retain a strong social structure based on a traditional lineage system. As far as is known, before 1917 they had a very strong inner relationship based on a social and administrative structure called *uruu* or *uruk*, which means clan or kin groupings. But after the establishment of Soviet rule, the above-mentioned kin grouping system with its active inner relationships was maintained locally in accordance with the ideological policy of the Soviet regime. This brought about a weakening of the traditional kinship structure. The local administrations of the Soviet rule called *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* took all the power in their hands. Later on, as the Soviet system fell, local Soviet authorities lost their powers and functions legally, and within this context the people returned to their kin grouping structures in order to cope with the social and economic problems of post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan.

This paper focuses on kinship relations of the Kyrgyz people after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It seeks to emphasize how the Kyrgyz people tried to return to their primordial past, which remained buried under the Soviet regime. Research for the paper is mainly based on fieldwork materials gathered on the spot in Küntuu village in 2009-10 and will focus on kinship relations after the transition period with special reference to Küntuu village. We will also introduce some basic information related to the establishment and social structure of this village. Here, I particularly would like to emphasize that this represents micro-level research based on a specific point in kinship relations after 1991. The study of a specific point may appear unimportant, but it must be emphasized that it is impossible to reach general conclusions without accomplishing this type of research in depth.

Brief history of the Village

Küntuu is one of the villages of the Sokuluk raion in Chuï oblast and lies at a distance of 10 kilometers from the capital city, Bishkek, at the foot

* It was published in A. Sengupta-S. Chatterjee-S. Bhattacharya (eds.), *Eurasia Twenty Years After*, published by Shipra Publications, New Delhi 2012, pp. 172-182.

of the Ala-Too (Aladağ). The village's vicinity is called Chong Jar¹. According to historical sources and traces, the history of Küntuu village begins from about 1932. Before this time a large Kyrgyz nomadic group called Solto uruu, On Kanat (Right Wing), was living in the Chuï Valley. Specifically, the area occupied by Küntuu village had been used by the Küntuu people who belonged to the Solto uruu, as well². Soviet rule first established and formed a *kolkhoz* (collective farm) called Kenesh³ in this area in 1932. Besides, two other *kolkhozes* called Kirov⁴ and Molotov⁵ were established at that time in this same vicinity. This shows that the *kolkhoz* played a very important role in the foundation of the first type of villages during Soviet rule.

The *kolkhoz* on which we focus was called Kenesh for a while. In 1946 it came to be known as Kaganovich⁶. In 1958 those three *kolkhozes* - Kaganovich, Kirov and Molotov - were combined into a *sovkhoz* called Kirov. Kaganovich became the main administration center of the Kirov Sovkhoz. After 1991, the village which previously carried the name Kenesh, and later on Kaganovich, started to be called Küntuu⁷. The name *Küntuu* comes from a nomadic community which belonged as a sub-tribe to the *Solto uruu*. According to genealogical trees and interviews with informants, Küntuu was the name of the elder of three sons of Solto named Küntuu, Kultuu and Chaa⁸. Actually, Küntuu is the ancestor of this community. Also, the present Küntuu community in the village consists of three lineage groupings known as Chong Murun, Dandybaï and Kulboldu. As far as can be concluded from

¹ Marina Moldolieva (born in 1964) is from Küntuu *aiyl* (village), Sokuluk *raion* (district), Chuï *oblast* (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 17, 2010).

² For a field study on the geographical distribution, genealogy and ethnography of the Solto uruu in the 1950s, see S. M. Abramzon, "Etnicheskiï sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya Severnoy Kirgizii", *Trudy kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, IV, Moskva 1960, pp 22-31.

³ The word "kenesh" is a direct translation of the word "Soviet", which means in particular "advice" or "consul".

⁴ Sergeï Kirov (1886-1934), a famous member of the CPSU.

⁵ Vyacheslav Molotov (1890-1986), foreign minister of Soviet Union (1939-1949).

⁶ Lazar Kaganovich (1893-1991), a well-known member of the CPSU.

⁷ Uvazger Akmataliev (born in 1932) is from Küntuu *aiyl*, Sokuluk *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 17, 2010); Kamantul Baltabaev (born in 1937) is from Küntuu *aiyl*, Sokuluk *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011); Burulkan Baltabaeva (born in 1939) is from Küntuu *aiyl*, Sokuluk *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (First Interview on January 29, 2011).

⁸ In addition to these brothers, Abramzon gives the name of one more brother, Aïtuu. See Abramzon, "Etnicheskiï", pp. 22-23 (geneological listing).

interviews with informants, these three brothers were the sons of Küntuu⁹. From these brothers Chong Murun had three sons named Balvak, Tökö and Nadyr; Dandybaï had two sons, Abek and Taïlak; Kulboldu had six sons, Ernazar, Shükür, Satymkul, Jolumbet, Kyzyl Kulboldu and Chanach. Kulboldu's descendents later comprised the largest group in the village.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the inhabitants of the village held a meeting related to several issues. Here they discussed social and economic issues and tried to solve them. At the meeting the *aksakals* (respected and distinguished person) suggested changing the name of the village according to their lineage. All the participants agreed. From that time onwards the village has carried the name Küntuu.



Views from Küntuu village

I argue here that the first change in the village after the transition became the new name of the village, in accordance with ancestral traditions. It should be emphasized that this reflects not only a 'return to the past' but also the first sparks of kinship relations after independence.

Currently, the village inhabitants consider themselves descendants of a man named Küntuu and his descendants who lived many generations before. Therefore, the people in the village call themselves *Küntuu eli* which means people of Küntuu. Some elderly residents said that the name Küntuu consists of 'kün', which means 'sun', and 'tuu', which means birth. This refers to the current residents of the village who have been accepted as the real people of the village.

Changes and Social Networks after 1990

Before 1991 the total population of Küntuu village consisted of about 600 *tütüns* (households). Approximately 40 per cent of these *tütüns* were Kyrgyz, 33 per cent Russians and 27 per cent Nemis (Germans), *Uyghurs*

⁹ On the other hand, the sons of the Küntuu are given by Abramzon as five persons: Kulboldu, Chong Murun, Tonbaï, Kara Mergen and Baïgana. See Abramzon, "Etnicheskiï", pp. 22-23 (see list of geneology).

(Uigur), Tatars and Dargins, originally from the people of the Caucasus. This situation indicates that Küntuu was a multi-national *kolkhoz* at that time.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 brought a lot of unexpected social, economic, administrative and political problems. Kyrgyzstan had been displaying symptoms of stagnation and negative effects in all spheres of life. Cattle-breeding, animal husbandry and agriculture totally collapsed, and administrative power became decentralized. Almost the same unwanted issues were reflected in Küntuu. As one of the first symptoms of these negative effects, non-Kyrgyz representatives began to leave the village. Russians migrated to Russia, Nemis to European countries and other nationalities like Tatars, Dargins and Uighurs moved to other villages in the province where most of inhabitants consisted of their own nationalities¹⁰. As the local people in the village explained, those ethnic Russians and Nemis, seeing no future for themselves in their villages, sold all their belongings, including their homes, at a very low price and migrated elsewhere¹¹. Their homes were usually bought by the locals. After these migrations, only five or six Russian families remained in the village. Also, other nationalities consisted of only a couple of families. As a result of emigration, the structure of the village, which had earlier consisted of different nationalities, changed so that it currently consists mostly of Kyrgyz.

Along with these migration movements following the transition period, people faced many different social and economic problems characteristic of a free market economy. People in rural areas started to move to urban areas seeking jobs and battling for survival. Chuï *oblast* and in particular the capital Bishkek and its surroundings, became very attractive places to live. Küntuu, being very close to Bishkek, lies within this attractive area. In this connection, the first settlements in the village were from other provinces. Settlers or families who emigrated from other provinces started to come in about 1988. The first settlers of the village before and after 1990-having health problems - came from Chatkal *raion*, Jalalabat *oblast* in 1988¹². Another family came from Jumgal *raion*, Naryn *oblast*, in 1992 because of heart problems of the husband in the family¹³. Outside of these families,

¹⁰ Jaichybek Moldoliev (born in 1958) is from Küntuu *aiyl*, Sokuluk *raion*, Chuï *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (First Interview on November 17, 2010).

¹¹ Moldoliev, see note 10.

¹² Osmonkul Kazakbaev (born in 1960) is a migrant from Aktash *aiyl*, Chatkal *raion*, Jalalabat *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011); Kunduzbübü Azyrankulova (born in 1960) is originally from Aktash *aiyl*, Chatkal *raion*, Jalalabat *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).

¹³ Osmonaly Kydyraliev (born in 1950) is a migrant from Minkush *aiyl*, Jumgal *raion*, Naryn *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011); Atyrkül Musaeva (born in 1953) is originally from Minkush *aiyl*, Jumgal *raion*, Naryn *oblast*, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).

also because of social and economic reasons, other families started to emigrate to the village from other provinces such as Osh, Jalalabat, Isyk-Köl, Talas and Naryn during the transition period. At the end of these emigration movements, Küntuu village had approximately 800 *tüttüns* (households) and still has that many today. More than 300 *tüttüns* belong to the Küntuu people. The rest emigrated from other provinces to the village. This is also evidence of the change that took place in the structure of the village.

Social Networks

Social and economic changes, migrations from other regions or provinces and other kinds of problems mostly affected kinship relations in Küntuu village in the post-Soviet period. There surfaced two different kinds of social networks after 1990. These two networks were both based on the neighborhood within the village, but varied according to the peoples' backgrounds. In this connection, the first social network was called 'uruu yntymagy' (lineage network) and the second was named 'jerdesh yntymagy' (network of fellow countrymen). The difference between them is that the first is based on the lineage network of the local community, while the second is a social network based on people or families who came from other provinces; otherwise it is a newly created network of migrants. So, according to our observations made through on-the-spot research, we can argue that there are two types of relationships or social networks in the village on which this article tries to focus.

***Uruu Yntymagy* (lineage network)**

In the case of Küntuu village, *uruu yntymagy* means lineage based on kinship of social solidarity. This solidarity is based physically on a *köchö*, a street which is about 300-600 meters in length. Each one of the *köchös* (streets) in the village has a special name. At the same time, each one of them is inhabited mostly by the specific lineages. Lineages are settled according to street, and they are known as being mostly street-focused. The social principle of some streets in Küntuu village is: 'one *köchö* (street) represents one lineage grouping'.

One of the largest lineage groupings is on a street called Chong Murun. The families of this street are the households of that lineage, and they have a special kinship name called *Chong Murun yntymagy*. Chong Murun is the second largest lineage, and it belonged to the Küntuu nomadic group. They have their own rules and principles. The social structure of this street is not homogenous, as is generally assumed. Thus, in the 1930s, a family from Sarybagysh uruu came to the village and settled on the street where the inhabitants are from the Chong Murun lineage. So, the family which is from another region actually entered the social network of 'Chong Murun yntymagy'. What is important here is that currently this family has been

accepted by the street inhabitants and they see themselves as members of the Chong Murun¹⁴. Another migrant to the village settled on a street called Sadovaya in 1988. This street was occupied by the Dandybaï lineage. Dandybaï is the largest lineage grouping in the village. Several months after they settled, some people from Dandybaï visited and invited them to join ‘Dandybaï yntymagy’, which means social and economic solidarity of street families based on the kinship relation of the Dandybaï lineage. The family accepted them and joined the group, and took part in almost all the social events of the street families¹⁵. These examples could be a sign of not only the emergence and formation of a nomadic group, but also the social structure.

Jerdesh Yntymagy

Jerdesh Yntymagy is another type of kinship relation in the village that has been there since 1990. *Jerdesh* means ‘solidarity of fellow countrymen’. It is used in general for folks from the same province, which is a key to the formation of the network. *Yntymak* means ‘solidarity’. Hence, the widespread usage of the term *jerdesh yntymagy*, that indicates a social network of a group of people, was formed among the countrymen from the same province or region in the case of Küntuu village.



A family from Küntuu village

Solidarity of fellow countrymen in the village took place according to the provinces of the country. Currently families from only six provinces live in the village, though there are seven provinces, namely Naryn, Talas,

¹⁴ Moldoliev, see note 10 (second interview on 29 January 2011, Küntuu).

¹⁵ Kazakbaev, see note 12.

Osh, Jalalabat, Batken, Isyk-Köl and Chuï. Families from each of the provinces comprised the above mentioned social solidarity *jerdeshtyymagytar* but are called by different names like *Naryndyktar*, *Talastyktar*, *Oshtuktar*, *Batkendikter* etc. These names are given to them according to the provinces they came from, and they indicate their regional identity with respect to the social, economic and political issues within the Küntuu village.

These social groups in the village were formed in later years following the fall of the Soviet Union. Many families from far away regions of the country started to move to the central provinces with all their family members and belongings. Zamira Sopubekova, a current inhabitant of Küntuu village came here with her family in the year 2000. Before coming, she was working as a teacher at a secondary school in the Alaï region in Osh oblast. As she had told us, she and her family had to leave school due to many social and economic problems after the collapse. So, she moved with her family to Chuï oblast in 1995¹⁶ to earn a living. She said that her family stayed in Kemin region for approximately four years. During that time, they grew beets and earned money by trading. Then, they bought a house for US\$ 1,500 (US\$ 1=17 *soms* at that time) from a Kyrgyz family that had previously bought it from a Tatar family. Families and people who migrated with these kinds of problems mostly settled in the central province of Chuï. The capital city of Bishkek is situated there, and market relations are much more developed. Those families today have their own small social groups and functions in the social life of the village.

At present, there are four social groups of fellow countrymen from the provinces of *Naryn*, *Talas*, *Osh* and *Batken*. The families from each of these provinces created their own social groups, and the number of families grew from 20 to 100 *tütüns* (households). Each group has their own leaders called *topbashi*, which means group leader who was elected for his personal competence and leadership ability. For instance, one of the informants, Toktomurat Mankiyev, who is currently the leader of *Oshtuktar*, told us that his group consists of 24 families¹⁷. He has been leading this group since 2000, or right after his arrival in the village. As he had explained, he was chosen as a leader because he was a school teacher during the Soviet period; in other words he is an educated person¹⁸.

Today members of the social group *Oshtuktar* meet regularly twice a year, on 31 August, which is celebrated as the day of independence for the Kyrgyz people, and on *Nooruz*. In their meetings they celebrate the day

¹⁶ Zamira Sopubekova (born in 1952) is a current inhabitant of Küntuu aïyl, Sokuluk raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

¹⁷ Toktomurat Mankiev (born in 1945) is a current inhabitant of Küntuu aïyl, Sokuluk raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

¹⁸ Mankiev, see note 17.

sitting at a coffee house or restaurant. In addition, the 24 families help each other in bad and good days, providing moral and financial support. For instance, in case of sad events like death or accident and on happy occasions like the birth of a child, marriage or buying a new car, each of the families of Oshtuktar provide 500 *soms* under the leadership of Toktomurat Mankiev¹⁹. He does this job voluntarily and is responsible for organizing such kinds of social events for his group.

The case of Oshtuktar is an example of the kinship relations and it can be defined as close kinship. Since this is a small group consisting of 24 families, the relationship here developed quite closely. But in other groups, the kinship or the social relation changes according to the size of families. For example, Naryndyktar who migrated from Naryn oblast to the village call themselves *Naryndyktar* (People from Naryn). The group of Naryndyktar has about 100 *tüitiins* (households). All of them came to the village after 1990 and currently share solidarity among themselves. If we compare the Naryndyktar group with other groups in the village, they are larger than the others. All of the families of Naryndyktar cannot come together in one place nor can they keep close relationships among themselves due to their larger population. Therefore, they are divided into two inner groups. Each group consists of approximately 50 families. As this number is still too large to have a permanent relation among these families, they are divided into two other inner groups again. One is for distant relations, another is for close relations. In this connection, an informant among them told us that: 'when one of the groups get together for only big social ceremonies like the death of person, we hardly have good relations with those families. We come together with all of them only when 'kishi ölgöndö' or somebody dies'²⁰. As the informant explained, this is a distant relation called 'katysh', which is based on 50 families, and they communicate occasionally such as in case of a funeral. In these cases, the leader of Naryndyktar, Sadybakas, collects 100 *soms* per family and gives it to a member of the family to help organize the funerals. This is a very small financial aid, but in one way it represents moral support. But what is important here is that all the Naryndyktar, or those 50 families, keep the same kin relations they had before. The families from the same province do not divide themselves according to the districts or villages in their original province. This reflects a type of distant relationship.

One of the members of this group told us that 20 or 25 families closely communicate often with one another. They maintain close contacts with all members and try to follow all family events. In social ceremonies like marriage and death, those families under the leadership of Sadybakas

¹⁹ Mankiev, see note 17.

²⁰ Musaeva, see note 13.

take part in the ceremonies, bringing moral and financial support to the ceremony holder. For instance, in these kinds of events each family brings 1,000 *soms* as financial support. If some of them organize a party commemorating a birth, or something of this kind, each family in the group contributes 1,000 *soms* to the family²¹.

Other changes in the village

We could observe some other changes in the village. One of them is about personal names. Prior to 1990 Soviet influence resulted in the naming of people with non-traditional names such as Sovietbek, Siezdbek, Melis, Sovkhozbeek, Kolkhozbeek etc. In 1958 when the *kolkhoz* in the village became a *sovkhoz*, those born in this year were named 'Sovkhozbeek'. This indicates that the system of *kolkhozes* or *sovkhozes* greatly influenced the process of giving names to people. But since 1991 the Kyrgyz people began to name their children according to their traditions, giving such names as Barsbek, Baĩtur, Ataĩ etc.

Other observations made in the village of Kũntuu brought to light the existence of two cemeteries that were there before 1991, in accordance with their faith. After Christian migrations, the Muslim cemetery proved to be insufficient, so they decided to construct a new one for those people who came to the village after 1993. It should be also noted that close family members are buried closer to one another.



Muslim cemetery (on the left) and Christian cemetery (on the right) in Kũntuu village

Local Administration in Social Network

There are about 15 *topbashys*, or leaders of social groups, in Kũntuu village. Eleven of them are leaders of lineage groupings or nomadic groups known as *uruu* or *uruk*. Four of them are the leaders of the groups who came from other provinces. Following the transition period, *aĩyl ōkmōt* was established in the new administration system of Kyrgyzstan, and Kũntuu village became the centre of the *aĩyl ōkmōt* (village government). The *aĩyl ōk-*

²¹ Kydyraliev, see note 13.

möt consists of five villages: Shalta, Dostuk, Chong Jar, Kichi Shalta and Küntuu. The head of local administration is called *ökmöt* or *aiyl ökmötü*; he has an *orun basar* (vice government). Also, there are two official heads called *aiyl bashchysy* in the *aiyl ökmöt*. One of them is in charge of the Shalta and Dostuk, another is Chong Jar and Kichi Shalta. In addition to these, the *aiyl deputattary* (village deputies) consist of other formal groups under the village head.

As one of the informants told us, the head of the village always keeps good relations with the local leaders of social groups. The head gets in touch with the leaders several times a month to get advice and cope with some of the social problems of the village²². The current head of the village, Talaïbek Korgoldoyev, confirmed this information during our conversation. Also he added some other relations in his interaction with the local leaders. As he explained, there are two informal groups under the village head. These are *aiyl aksakaldary* of the village and *topbashchylar* (leaders of groups). Each of these groups consists of 7-15 persons, and they occasionally come together according to the social, economic and political problems of the village. For instance, as the village head said, *aiyl deputattary*, or the village deputies, meet several times a month in the office of the village head, where they talk and discuss problems, like expenses, budget, sale, and other kinds of organizational problems²³. This means that in case of the absence of central support from the government, the village head tries to solve local issues himself with the support of the deputies. The other group called *aiyl aksakaldary* is the group that helps the local administration to solve the legal issues of the village. The last group, *topbashchylar* or the group leaders, interact with the leaders of the local social network functions as an active network helping the local administration to cope with social problems in the village.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that some initial changes occurred in the village of Küntuu after the transition period. For example, during this period almost all non-Kyrgyz nationalities emigrated from the village for social and economic reasons. On the other hand, other families started to emigrate to the village from other provinces such as Osh, Jalalabat, Isyk-Köl, Talas and Naryn during the transition period. Along with this immigration or settlement process in the village, different types of kinship relations started to appear, such as close kin, distant kin, as well as the neigh-

²² Erkinbek Abdyrahmanov (born in 1966) is a current inhabitant of Küntuu aiyl, Sokuluk raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

²³ Talaïbek Korgoldoev (born in 1968) is the current head of Küntuu aiyl, Sokuluk raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

borhood. The fundamental factors of these kin relations are based on being from the same place, belonging to the same lineage grouping and settling on the same street. Currently we can say that all the people of the village are very happy and satisfied with their lives because the network which is based on different types of kinship relations provides them social and economic solidarity. This is a real portrait of Küntuu village, as well as many other villages in rural places of Kyrgyzstan, showing how the people have been coping with the social and economic problems of their daily life in the framework of the weakened support of the government. People who lead the social groups and who are in those groups are overcoming their hardships and are creating social networks like *Naryndyktar*, *Talastyktar*, *Osh-tuktar* etc. It is clear from the interviews and conversations with the village head and the other people, as well as observations in the field, that the local administration, as the face of the government, leads the village through the financial and moral support of the social groups.

The Place Where Eurasian Nomads Meet and Melt*

Introduction

One of the special aspects of nomadic life is that each family's wealth or property is in their animals. Another is that they take maximum advantage of the seasons of the year-‘kysh’ (winter), ‘jaz’ (spring), ‘jaī’ (summer) and ‘küz’ (autumn) - in order to continue their economic activities, which are tied to raising animals. In this regard, over the course of history a great many nomadic groups have passed the year in places named in Kyrgyz as ‘kyshtoo’ for winter, ‘jazzdoo’ for spring, ‘jaīloo’ for summer and ‘küzdoo’ for autumn, and have taken this path to avail themselves all the more of the resources that nature has offered to them.

For the nomads, who live an active life, the winter season is a time they must accept as being the quiet season for almost everything. This stagnant period applies to both them and to nature. In this regard, the nomads operate within a narrower environment and their economic activities are limited. Additionally, during this period the plants in nature die and there is a withdrawal. Among the Kyrgyz even today a proverb is widely spoken- ‘*kyshtan aman esen chyksak*’ (if we emerge safe and sound from the winter)-indicating for certain that life during this season is lived under quiet difficult and trying conditions. Of course, after emerging from winter the new season is ‘jaz’, spring, the season that starts the new year. This is the time when nature awakens, plants become green and people get active. After spring comes ‘jaī’, summer, when everything is at its peak and all sorts of products are obtained from the animals. As the summer weather begins to cool, autumn slowly makes its entrance. One should think of this season as the time when nature degrades and in the ‘küzdöö’, the places where the nomads pass this season, a preparation process begins. Here, too, preparations are made for the ‘kyshtoo’, where the winter season will be passed, and the movement is made to the winter quarters. The proverb spoken among the Kyrgyz, ‘*jaz jarysh küz kürösh*’, refers to this circle of life of the nomads in which there is something of a race with time, a wrestling match of sorts, with the nomads managing their animals in summer, obtaining their products, and then making preparations for winter during autumn. This all means

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that the nomads' yearly lifecycle is like a four-act play on a stage, with each act having its own special nature. In this regard, we can say that most things slow down or die in winter; in spring, life begins again; all things reach their peak in summer; and in autumn a degradation process begins.

For nomads, the importance and meaning of the coming of spring, when the soil awakens and a new year begins after the winter season of their annual lifecycle, is quite significant. This situation can be better understood from two proverbs spoken by the Kyrgyz, who still carry with them the values of the nomadic lifestyle: '*Jazdyn bir künü min küngö tete*' (one day of spring is worth a thousand days) and '*Ölbögön janga jaz da keler*' (spring also comes to a life that has not died). After 'jaz' (spring), the places where the nomads live their lives when 'jaï' (summer) comes are called 'jaïloo' (summer pasture). In this regard, for the nomads' lifestyle the *jaïloos*, which are located mostly in the wide valleys between high mountains, have a special place. The most important reason for this is that in these summer pastures, to where the nomads migrate from their winter quarters with the coming of spring, the nomads become one with nature, complete themselves and spend a significant portion of their lives. Here is where they form their practical and spiritual values in many areas. Consequently, these *jaïloos*, where the nomads spend such an important part of their lives, are not just for raising animals. They are also places that can be likened to pools where cultural values like language, literature, folklore and beliefs meet and are melded among groups coming from different clans and geographies. In this context, the summer pastures should be thought of as places that ensure communication with regard to the cultural values among nomadic groups.

If we consider that the Kyrgyz people began coming to the geography of today's Kyrgyzstan in the second half of the 15th century from East Tenir Mountains (Chygysh Tengri Tooloru), then it must be that the summer pastures of this geography were used by the nomadic peoples and groups under the sway of the states that ruled the region prior to that time. In this regard, there are depictions from the Saka period on rocks found in the Saïmaly Tash summer pasture in Jalalabat, Kyrgyzstan, indicating that these summer pastures were used by people under Saka rule in the period between the 8th and 2nd centuries B.C. Subsequently, the Huns and Usuns held sway from the 2nd century B.C. until the 5th century A.D.; the Köktürks, Türgesh (Türgish) and Karluks until the beginning of the 10th century; the Karakhanids until the first quarter of the 13th century A.D.; the Qara-Khitai in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.; the Mongols at the beginning of the 13th century; and, during the second half of the 15th century A. D., the Kyrgyz came from the Altaï Mountains to the Tenir Mountains. The people under the control of all these groups must have used these summer pastures. In this regard, if we consider that the region came under

the management of the Kyrgyz, who came from the East Tenir Mountains and the Altaï Mountains in the 15th and 16th centuries, then we can say that the nomadic peoples and groups of the previous periods, when the region was ruled by other states, knew these places very well, took great advantage of them and used them as summer pastures.

The geography where Kyrgyz clans live in today's Kyrgyzstan was invaded by the Mongolian - origin Kamalks, whose state, called the Cungar Khanate, was established (1635) by Batur Hun Taiji along the Irtyš River in northeastern Mongolia. The most important reasons for this invasion were gaining control of the economy of the Silk Road and taking advantage of the broad grazing areas of the Central Asian steppes. With the start of the Kalmaks' invasion of the Tenir Mountains region, a significant portion of the Kyrgyz clans abandoned their tents and were forced to migrate towards Tajikistan. There is a saying spoken among the Kyrgyz and found in written texts about this matter¹: '*Kazakh kaïyng saaganda / Kyrgyz Ysar kirgen*' (The Kazakh milked the water of the beech tree / the Kyrgyz went to Ysar / Gisar). There is another version of this expression spoken among the people: '*Kazakh kaïyng saap/ Kyrgyz Ysar Kölöpkö kachkanda*' (The Kazakh milked the water of the beech tree / the Kyrgyz fled to Isar / Gisar and Kölöpkö / Kulyab). From these sayings it is understood that the Kazakhs who abandoned their tents were starving as the result of this invasion and drank the sweet and healthy water of the beech tree to replenish themselves; the Kyrgyz, on the other hand, fled to Gisar (Hisor) and Kulyab (Kulob) in today's Tajikistan². The saying '*Aktaban shubryndy*' (exodus on barefoot), said among Kazakhs in relation to this event, is another indication of the great tragedy inflicted by the Kalmak invasion. It is known that the Kazakhs mostly fled north during the invasion. Subsequently, the Cungar Khanate was invaded by the Manchu, who had established a state in China, and was completely broken politically in 1759. Most of the Kalmaks, who had invaded the Tenir Mountains but who began to leave the region because of their own internal difficulties, were forced to return to Cungaria. A significant portion of the Kyrgyz clans that had abandoned their tents then began to return and with the Kyrgyz return to the tents of their forefathers they resumed contact with those Kyrgyz clans that had remained and been dispersed during the invasion.

In the context of the information given above, it must be said that the geography of today's Kyrgyzstan holds a very important place in Central Asia for the nomadic Turkic peoples and groups, in particular. In this re-

¹ See K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, Frunze-Moskva 1965, p. 324, see. "kaïyn".

² On this subject see Belek Soltonoev, *Kyzyl kyrgyz taryhy*, Bishkek 2003, pp. 120-121.

gard, the aforementioned geography is like a cradle where the values of nomadic civilization were created. Of course, this situation must have played an important role in the ready acceptance of the management of states that have the same or similar values as their people and groups.

Regarding the Name ‘Suusamyr’

At the head of the places where tents (bozūi) have been pitched over the course of history by the people and groups that live in the geography of today’s Kyrgyzstan, come the summer pastures, where the nomadic civilization essentially completes itself. Among these summer pastures are those in Suusamyr Öröönü, where a great many nomadic groups meet. The name Suusamyr comes from the river called Suusamyr, which originates in Ala-Bel pass in Ala-Too, going toward the Talas region, and which runs along the Suusamyr Öröönü. The ‘suu’ in Suusamyr no doubt is the same as ‘su’ (water) in Anatolian Turkish. As for ‘samyr’, it is related to an animal that lives in the aforementioned waterway. V. V. Radlov mentions an animal called ‘samur’, ‘suz samuru’ or ‘sary samur’ in his findings related to terms in Old Turkic, the Russian equivalent of which is ‘vidra’³. In Kyrgyz ‘vidra’ means ‘kunduz’⁴ and it is known that an animal by this name lives, albeit rarely, in the Kōkō-Meren waterway in Suusamyr, Kyrgyzstan, and in the Chatkal waterway, which runs to Suusamyr⁵. This situation leads one to think that the ‘suusamyr’ animal which gave its name to Suusamyr must be an old name for the animal known as ‘kunduz’ or it may be, although the probability is weak, an animal from the same species as kunduz⁶.

Suusamyr Summer Pasture’s Location and Characteristics

The Suusamyr Öröönü harbors many summer pastures within its borders and is located in the center of the Chuī, Talas, Naryn, Osh and Jalalabat regions of the Kyrgyzstan geography, at the junction of roads that lead to these areas. This situation shows that in the past Suusamyr was the home of nomadic groups that came mostly from these regions. Nevertheless, there were nomadic groups that came to Suusamyr from more distant regions. In this regard, there is a Kazakh folk song by the name of *Susamyr - Eldin Jailau* (Suusamyr: Summer pasture of People) and the refrain of this song goes *Susamyr, eldin jailau / Ömirdin bar ma bailau* (Suusamyr-Summer

³ V. V. Radlov, *Opyt Slovarya tyurkskikh Narechiĭ*, Sankt Peterburg 1911, IV/I, p. 434.

⁴ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiĭ slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, p. 445, see “Kunduz”.

⁵ “Kunduz”, *Kyrgyz Sovet Entsiklopediyasy*, Frunze 1978, III, p. 492.

⁶ Such a relationship between *samyr* and *kunduz* in Kyrgyz shows that there is certainly a close tie between these animals, known as ‘samur’ and ‘kunduz’ in Turkish.

pasture of People / If you tie there, you have a long life)⁷, indicating that over the course of history Suusamyr was the common meeting and melding place for many nomadic peoples. In this regard, it is known that during the time of the Soviet Union, Kazakh nomads came to Suusamyr for their summer pasturing up until 1930. Relatedly, certain findings made on-site recently about Suusamyr, superficial though they may be, are important from the standpoint of the traces of the civilization values belonging to nomads.

Suusamyr Öröönü is located within the Ala-Too (Aladağ) mountain range, known as the Tenir Mountains in Kyrgyzstan, and has an area of 4,300 square kilometers. It is 2,200 meters above sea level and 160 kilometers from Kyrgyzstan's capital Bishkek. Geographically, Suusamyr is a valley on a steppe plateau and mountains rise around it. In this regard, the 'öröön' of Suusamyr Öröönü means valley. Suusamyr Öröönü occupies a rather large geographic area and is separated into three main regions. In the western part of the valley is Duban Kechüü Öröönü, in the center Suusamyr Öröönü and on the other side there is Batysh Karakol Öröönü⁸.

The 'duban' in Duban Kechüü Öröönü, which forms the head of Suusamyr, leaves the impression that it comes not from 'duban', meaning wide region, but rather from 'daban', which means 'pass'. In this regard, since this place is in fact a pass the word 'kechüü' is used and later on the word 'daban', with the same meaning, came in front of it. But it may be that over time this word turned into 'duban'⁹. In this valley there are two mountains known as Korumdu-Too and Aıgyr Jal-Too that approach each other and extend to the valley's narrow point. Here the 'korumdu' in Korumdu-Too must have a relation to 'korunmak' (to be defended) or to a place where a dead person is buried. The 'aıgyr' in Aıgyr Jal-Too refers to the male stud within a horse herd of between 10-16 or more mares. As for 'jal', it refers to the horse's mane and, in this regard, 'Aıgyr Jal-Too' was called by this name because it resembles a wavey and long hill in the middle of a flat plain, similar to a stallion's 'jal', or mane.

When Suusamyr Öröönü, which occupies the center of the valley, is seen from afar it resembles a bowl. It was first used as a winter quarters and later as a place where villages were established. Batysh Karakol Öröönü is to the east of Suusamyr, set among the mountains known in Kyrgyz as Ala-Too, Kara-Moınok, Jumgal and Kindik. The fact that Kara-Moınok

⁷ For the text of this folk song see *Aul Keşi Kōnildi*, Compiled by Haydolla Tilemisov, Almaty 1993, pp. 135-136.

⁸ For general information about Suusamyr Valley see "Suusamyr Öröönü", *Kyrgyz Sovet Entsiklopediyasy*, Frunze 1980, V, p. 472.

⁹ In this regard, it is worth noting that "duban", used among the Kyrgyz, refers to a much larger geographical region than "divan", a word which transitioned from the Anatolian Principalities to the Ottomans and referred to administrative and economic units, particularly in northwest Anatolia during the Ottoman period.

and Kindik mountains are among these is rather interesting. The ‘moĭnok’ in Kara-Moĭnok probably comes from its resemblance to the thinness of a human throat and in Kyrgyz ‘kindik’ means bellybutton. In this regard, it makes one think that the mountain got this name because there is a hollow much like a belly in the middle of Kindik-Too. The ‘batysh’ of Batysh Karakol Öröönü comes from its western direction; ‘karakol’ here does not refer to the ‘karakol’ used in Kyrgyz to mean ‘observation place’¹⁰, but is probably related to the meaning of ‘karasu’ black water).

Movement to Suusamyr

We have had a number of opportunities to travel to Suusamyr, which has been the home of a great many nomadic groups and peoples over the course of history. In this context, for example on 19 June 2005 we went to the valley for some superficial observations. Subsequently, we made a more detailed study tour of Suusamyr’s western and central areas on June 17, 2007. The observations we provide here about Suusamyr are based mostly on the findings of this trip. The photographs of Suusamyr were taken during our many investigations there and there are others related to the subject that were taken at other locations. While making these findings we tried to get into the deeper history of certain points and, in this way, create a bridge between today and the past.

I departed from Bishkek en route to Suusamyr at 7 am in the morning on a bright and sunny Sunday, 17 June 2007. Accompanying me were my colleagues Konuralp Ercilasun and Kiyotaka K. Sugihara, as well as Suusamyr native Stambulbek Mambetaliev, who knows Suusamyr like the back of his hand, and Mars Busurmanov, our driver at the controls of a Niva vehicle. Of course, I took along with me a camera and recording devices to make a record of our trip. Since it was an early hour, the traffic in Bishkek was quite sparse so we began to cross the city quickly. However, I noticed that the right side of the road we were taking out of the city was heavy with traffic and our pace slowed. I then remembered that there was an automobile market just here, on the right side of the road, and it was so crowded with people and cars that a pin, if dropped, would not hit the ground. After passing the market slowly we were then able to resume a normal speed. This road passes through the center of a settlement known by the name Kara-Balta.

¹⁰ In Kyrgyz one meaning of *kara* is one who looks, sees or observes widely. As for *kol*, it means side, direction. Consequently, it is worth noting that *karakol* carries the meaning of a place that is looked after, seen or observed. In this regard, in Turkey *karakol* is an area policed for security and order within the structure of the Gendarmerie Forces General Command and the Security General Directorate. In other words, an “observation point” is a term whose root dates back to a much earlier time.

Arrival at Kara-Balta

We reached Kara-Balta about an hour after leaving Bishkek. Kara-Balta reminds one of a small town in Anatolia and during the time of the Soviet Union it was known as a place for carpet-weaving, for its sugar factory and for gold manufacturing and alcoholic drinks production. A busy scene from a bazar in the center of a small town where various food and necessities are being sold. Leaving the town and before turning on to the road that leads to Suusamyr, one notices the statue of Konurbaı uulu (son) Jaıyl Baatyr, who was born at the beginning of the 18th century and died in the middle of the same century. Jaıyl Baatyr was one of the leaders of the Solto clan of the Kyrgyz and his mid-18th century exploits against the enemy occupiers of the Kyrgyz regions, the Kalmaks, are legendary¹¹. Baatyr defended the clans of the Kyrgyz community against their enemies, participated in raids for the clan and garnered treasure. The baatyr resembled the raiders of the Ottoman founding period who were known as ‘bahadır’ (brave, hero) in Anatolian Turkish. It is noteworthy that the baatyr regained prominence particularly after Kyrgyz independence in 1991 and statues of them were erected in a great many cities and towns.



Statue of Jaıyl Baatyr in Kara-Balta

‘Jibek Jolu’ (Silk Road) and Entrance into the Valley

In Kara-Balta the road that turns to the left in front of the statue of Jaıyl Baatyr leads to Suusamyr and to Kyrgyzstan’s second-most important

¹¹ The life of Jaıyl Baatyr, his activities and relationships, were the subjects of a scientific conference. Individuals such as D. B. Saparaliev, T. N. Ömürbekov, T. C. Corobekov, C. C. Jakypbekov, Guljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun submitted papers concerning Jaıyl Baatyr and the texts of this meeting were turned into a book (*Jaıyl Baatyr: Uchur jana Kelechek, El Aralyk İlmü-Praktikalyk Konferentsiyanyn Materialdary*, Karabalta Shaary, 12-Oktıyabr, 2006- jyl, Bishkek 2006).

city, after Bishkek, Osh. This road was renewed in 2002-2003 to commemorate the 3,000th anniversary of the city of Osh and it is famous as the historic 'Jibek Jolu'. After 45 minutes on this road one reaches the base of the mountain range known as Ala-Too. This place is called Sosnovka. It was just after 9 am in the morning when we reached the base of the Ala-Too. The road passes the base of the mountains and enters to the interior through a narrow valley, winding toward the summit. Before we entered the valley itself we encountered a shepherd on a horse, at the head of about 100 sheep and goats, which was a signal that they were heading for the summer pasture. I remembered something at this point-today in Anatolia shepherds generally ride a donkey ahead of their herds, whereas here they are on horseback. In any event, donkeys are rarely encountered in Kyrgyzstan. This situation arises from the place of the horse in every aspect of life and the horse's role in traversing the steppes. Continuing along the road in the zig-zag valley one notes the waterway that seems to drag along the rock chunks in its path. The name of this waterway is Kara-Balta and the town of Kara-Balta probably got its name from this waterway. At this point, before entering any further into the interior of the valley we spot four 'uy' (cows) toward the top of a mountain on the right side. On the left side of the road, on the mountain slope, there are goats and we note a shepherd with an 'it' (dog). Goats can get lost among the trees and the grasses that sprout with the coming of spring. The very faithful dog follows the shepherd. This animal is called both 'it' and more widely 'köpek' (dog) in Anatolia but it is known only as 'it' by the Kyrgyz.

Climbing the Mountains and Reaching 'Töö Ashuu'

After entering the valley, we start to climb the mountains. During this climb we note that the mountain summits have sometimes a dark green and sometimes a red iron color, as if they have been finished off with iron metal. The high point of this climb is known by the name 'Töö Ashuu' (Camel Pass). This pass is Kyrgyzstan's highest, 3,500 meters above sea level, and it is set along the famous 'Silk Road', with traces of the ancient road along its right side. The pass has a shape like a camel and over the course of history many camels, oxen and horses have passed through it. Because it is so difficult to reach the pass a tunnel was built here in 1958 and it is named for Kuseyn Kölbaev, who made great efforts to get the tunnel completed. The travel time on the road was cut by about an hour thanks to the 3-kilometer tunnel. Since the tunnel was a bit narrow when it was built, it was expanded on the side and above in 2002-2003. However, in 2002 a car broke down inside the tunnel during construction and as the result of the following cars getting stuck, too, there was an accident. Seven people died, one of them a 7-month pregnant woman, from poisonous gas

escaping from the car. After this accident a doctor and a watchman were posted at either end of the tunnel.

As we look at the summits on the left side of our position we see the great snow parts known as ‘möngü’ that have joined over centuries with the peaks of the straight and high Tenir Mountains, and which have fascinated people. Normally in Kyrgyz the word ‘kar’ (snow) is used for the snow that falls and remains on the ground but the giant snow parts like these on mountain summits are called ‘möngü’. Kyrgyzstan’s geography is more than 90 percent mountains and these *möngüs* are just about part and parcel of it. In the Kyrgyz national anthem known as ‘Mamlekettik Gimn’, the statements ‘*Ak möngülüü aska zoolor talaalar / Elibizdin cany menen barabar*’ carry this meaning: The highest snow-covered summits and steppes / Together with our peoples’ souls. Additionally, the water that melts and flows from the ‘möngü’ is known by the name ‘möngü suu’ (möngü water).

Suusamyr Öröönü (Suusamyr Valley)

Emerging from the tunnel and after some movement, we descend from Töö Ashuu and see a broad valley that resembles a bowl. This valley is known by the name Suusamyr Öröönü. Before descending from the mountain summit, thinking that we should get a bird’s eye view of the valley we pull our car off to an appropriate place on the right side of the road and get out. Although it is summer, the weather is cold and some fog has settled over Suusamyr. Soon after we get out of the car rain and then hail suddenly begin to fall. Looking below there is the greenery that came with spring and in some places red, yellow, purple and white flowers, herds of horses and, rarely, the tents of the migrants to the valley. From this point one can sort of view all four seasons at once.



A view of Suusamyr Valley from the Töö Ashuu summit

Since it was cold where we resumed our trip a while later, down a winding road from the summit toward Suusamyr. There were tents on ei-

ther side of the road as we descended and we noticed makers and sellers of kymyz (fermented mare's milk) and kurut (a dried milk product) along the road. This situation showed that, like it or not, Suusamyr has been affected in the aftermath of Kyrgyzstan's independence and the gradual implementation of a free market economy. In this regard, one sees that the valley has become a place for grazing animals and for the production and sale of milk and milk products, mostly to travellers on the road. We, too, could not help but stop at one of these places. A woman was waiting by a stand set up on the right side of the road where we stopped. By her side were two young children, aged about 10 or 12. Inside the containers atop the stand were 'kymyz', made from horse milk, 'kurut', made by drying strained yogurt (yoghurt). When one asks for kymyz, right away a one or two-liter plastic bottle is offered.

Types of Grasses and Plants in Suusamyr Summer Pasture

Summer pastures are the places where nomads graze and feed their animals in the spring, summer and even fall. The most important reason for this is the availability of nourishing and fresh grasses and plants of various types found in the summer pastures for the animals. In the Kyrgyz language the word 'chöp' is used to mean grass and the word 'ösüm-dük' is used for plant.

One sees that there is quite a variety of grasses and plants available in the Suusamyr summer pasture and that the word 'chöp' is found in almost all the names of the grasses. In this regard, 'betege chöbү', 'too chöp' (mountain grass), 'saz chöbү / ölöng chöp' (cattail grass), 'aïdoonun chöbү', 'uu chöp' (poison grass), 'kyl chöp' (bristly grass), 'tekeï chöp', 'kekilik chöp' (thyme grass) and 'adrashman chöbү' are some of the names that can be mentioned. 'Betege', the grass that the animals love and which is quite high in protein, is widespread in the summer pastures in spring, summer and fall. Animals that eat this grass fatten up quickly and fattened animals are called 'semiz mal' (fat animals). After this plant is broken off and eaten by the animals its root remains and it grows back in one or two months. In this regard, the proverb '*betege ketip bel kalat / bekler ketip el kalat*' (if the betege finishes its root remains / if leaders go the people remain) is rather famous among the populace¹². 'Too chöp', as its name implies, grows in the mountains and high places. 'Saz chöbү' or 'ölöng chöp' grows in places where rushes, bulrushes, cattails and similar plants are found. 'Aïdoonun chöbү' has the meaning of a field grass. *Tekeï chöp's* peculiarity is that a white liquid that resembles milk is found on its leaves. The leaves are gathered up and the liquid squeezed out. In 20

¹² Bahiya Sharsheeva (born in 1969) is from Tepke aйл, Ak-Suu район, Isyk-Köl oblast (Interview on May 12, 2010).

to 30 minutes it hardens and forms a gum-like substance that is then chewed. This gum is called ‘tekeï sakyz’ (tekeï gum). ‘Kekilik chöp’ grows mostly at higher elevations. Animals really love this grass¹³.

When it comes to the plant types found in the Suusamyr summer pasture: research conducted with the aim of identifying the 100 important pasture and summer pasture plants in Kyrgyzstan, as well as the 20 important poisonous plants, showed that the Suusamyr summer pasture is quite rich in plant variety¹⁴. In this regard, it was determined that nearly 20 of the 100 important plants of Kyrgyzstan are found in the Suusamyr summer pasture. Four poisonous plant types, mostly used in the medical field, are found there, as well. Among these plants we can mention those with the names ‘konur bash jylgan’, ‘kakym’, ‘bede’, ‘kyzyl chymyndyk’, ‘chymook’, ‘kymyzdyk’, ‘kadimki kychy’, ‘akmandai’, ‘töö kuïruk’, ‘too piyazy’, ‘botoköz’, ‘kaz tандай’, ‘shybak’, ‘ermen’, ‘kaz taman’, ‘kökömeren’, ‘baka jalbyrak’, ‘sogon’, ‘ishkyn’, ‘kokon tikenek / töö tikenek’, ‘sulu’, ‘arpa’, ‘kyzyl kuurai’ and ‘boz tal’. The animals generally eat these plants in spring, summer and fall seasons. In fact, although not plentiful, ‘kyzyl chymyndyk’ and ‘kymyzdyk’ plants can be eaten during all four seasons. ‘Ermen’ and ‘shybak’ are grasses preferred mostly by goats. In fact, the meat of goats that eat ‘ermen’ and ‘shybak’ in fall months is eaten instead of medicine for the benefit of human health and internal organisms¹⁵. Tea made from the ‘kökömeren’ plant is used as a medicine for a great many illnesses. ‘Baka jalbyrak’ grows along the roadsides and is good for wounds and cuts. In addition, its leaves are boiled and people drink the liquid. ‘Ishkyn’, known as ‘ishgyn’ in Anatolia, grows during May and June. It is gathered in the high places of the valley and is eaten. In Kyrgyzstan’s southern Osh region it is known as ‘shükürü’. It is said that ‘ishkyn’ is good for indigestion and stomach troubles. ‘Sulu’ is a grass that grows in the fields where barley is raised. This grass is known mostly as ‘külük and is used to nourish race horses. ‘Kyzyl kuurai’ is gathered in the fall season and used instead of wood in places where there are no forests.

Settlement at Suusamyr and Suusamyr Village

After proceeding from where we stopped our car along the main road for about five or ten minutes, we found a dirt road on the left, which goes to Suusamyr’s center. Since Stambulbek Mambetaliev’s family lives

¹³ Stambulbek Mambetaliev (born in 1977) is from Suusamyr aйл, Jäйл район, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 10, 2013).

¹⁴ *Herder’s Manual*, A Joint Project of the University of Central Asia’s Mountain Societies Research Center and Swiss National Center of Competence in Research: North-South, (UCA_HerdersManual2011_English.pdf), available on September 10, 2013.

¹⁵ Stambulbek Mambetaliev, see note 12.

in the center, we had to go there first so that's why we turned off the main road and onto the dirt one. When one looks from this point settlement areas are visible in the distance. Other than Suusamyr village, at the center, there are five other 'aïyl' (village) known by the names Tunuk, Kaïsar, Birinci Maï, Kojomkul and Kyzyl-Oï. Birinci Maï, one of them, translates to '1 May', which is Workers' Day. Kojomkul's name is understood to come from a local person named Kojomkul who was legendary for his more than two-meter height and hefty physique. It is still said among the people that this person wrung water from a beech tree by squeezing it. Most of the people in the existing settlements at Suusamyr are Sayak; others represented are members of the Solto, Borgemik, Kuljygach, Sarybagysh and Joluke *uruus* (clans). It should not be thought, though, that these clan members have totally abandoned nomadic life in favor of a settled life in these villages. For the most part, they generally stay in the villages, which are considered 'kyshtoo' (winter quarters), from November to April; at other times they go to the summer pasture areas to graze their animals, along with all or some of their family members¹⁶.



A view from Suusamyr village in summer A view from Suusamyr village in winter

When we came to central Suusamyr village we noticed the single-story and roofed houses called 'tam' along the well-arranged streets, hallmarks of the Soviet system. The most significant characteristic of these houses, like those of the villages of Anatolia, are their wide gardens, stables and haylofts, surrounded by a courtyard. During the time of the Soviet Union, this central village had a main headquarters related to raising animals called Minsterstvo Çrezveçaynıh Situatsiy, because of the economic importance of animal breeding in the valley. We were hosted in the central village within the warmth of the home of Rahatbek, the brother of Stam-

¹⁶ For more information about Suusamyr Valley's geography, history, peoples' roots, and important individuals who were born in Suusamyr see Sadurdin Töraliev, *Suusamyr Entsiklopediya*, Bishkek 2010.

bulbek Mambetaliev, who had come with us to Suusamyr, and once again witnessed traditional Kyrgyz hospitality.

Every house in this winter quarters village, as is generally the case throughout Kyrgyzstan, is known as ‘tütün’, because a stove is burning and there is smoke in the chimney. In other words, a ‘tütün’ is a home. The situation is important from the standpoint of showing that during Ottoman times the tax levied on nomads, in particular, was called ‘resm-i dud’, ‘resm-i duhan’ or ‘kışlak vergisi’ and was related to the smoke that indicated the existence a home or a stove. This also serves to show the roots of this tax. The main material used in the construction of the houses or courtyards is ‘kirpiç’, known in Anatolian Turkish as ‘kerpiç’ (sun-dried brick, adobe). Adobe made from soil is called ‘kysh’ or ‘kysh kirpiç’; adobe made by mixing straw with soil is known as ‘samannyı kirpiç’; and factory bricks of adobe are called simply ‘kirpiç’. In this regard, adobe that is inserted into big iron forms is known as ‘sokmo’.

One of the things that catch our attention at some houses is a harnessed horse tied to a tree or a pole in front of the house, an indication of the role of the horse in Kyrgyzstan’s social and economic life. It is like having a personal car ready to go at any moment. Similarly, one sees a dog in the courtyards of many homes in the village. While dogs are known by the names ‘it’ and ‘köpek’ in Anatolia, the Kyrgyz only use ‘it’. But in addition to this general name, there is also ‘döböt’ for a male dog; ‘kanchyk’ for a female; ‘küchük’ for a puppy; and ‘kandek’ for a poodle. Additionally, large and powerful dogs are referred to as ‘börübasar’, which means wolf’s-bane. In some areas of Anatolia the hollow rock from which dogs eat is known as ‘yalak’ and the portable version is ‘yal çanağı’. The Kyrgyz call this ‘it ayak’.

We notice piles of grass stacked in an orderly fashion, one on top of the other, like bales, in the courtyards of some homes in the village. This indicates that they are involved with raising animals. This grass is brought in August for use by the animals during the winter. In certain regions of Anatolia these grass bales, stored in this manner for the winter, are known as ‘otluk’, whereas in Kyrgyzstan they are known as ‘too chöbü’ (mountain of grass) because of the mountain-sized piles of grass. Besides these bales in the courtyard, we also note other special names for places related to the animals’ care in winter. In this regard, ‘saray’ is the name for the place where the animals are fed, completely enclosed on the sides and top; ‘bastyrma’ for the place sheltered from above but open at the sides; ‘akyr’ for the place where grass is eaten; ‘koroo’ for the place that is somewhat enclosed and completely open above; and ‘ashtoo’ for places for food and drink. One of the terms used in relation to raising animals is ‘akyr’, which is no doubt the equivalent of ‘ahır’(stable) in Anatolia. ‘Bastyrma’ has a different meaning, though, since in Anatolia it refers to the ‘basma’, where

the animals' feces are disposed. In Anatolia these feces in the 'basma' absorb winter snow and spring rain and harden. Later they are cut into blocks with a spade and burned in winter for heating. These blocks are known as 'kerme' in many parts of Anatolia and as 'kön' among the Kyrgyz.

The Summer Pastures of Suusamyr

It is possible to reach the summer pastures at places close to the center of Suusamyr. In this regard, Suusamyr's most important characteristic is that it has many summer pastures, like Kichi Korumdu, Chong Korumdu, Taldy Suu, which means willow water, and Tegerek Kaïyn. The inclusion of all these valleys within Suusamyr Öröönü stems from its broad geographical area. In this context, there is generally a valley where each nomadic group stays and grazes. There is a place to live in the valley for every family that makes up a nomadic group and this place transfers from generation to generation. So it is not possible for another family to come and live here. Because water is such an important need in the valley, families generally set up their 'bozüi' (tent) near a waterway. One of the valleys we reached in Suusamyr is known by the name Taldy Suu and the river that flows through the valley is called 'Min Bulak' (Thousand Springs). Here 'bulak' means water source or spring. We understand that the name 'Min Bulak' of Taldy Suu arises from the hundreds and thousands of water streams that are formed as the result of the melting and joining of the small 'möngü' (snow blocks) at the mountain summits. This water joins with still more sources further below, grows bigger and is then known by the name Kökö-Meren, which means Köksuu in Kyrgyz and Göksu in Turkish. 'Meren', which is also referred to as 'müren' and 'mörön', mean river¹⁷. In this regard, the fact that Zeki Müren (born 1931-died 1996), a famous singer of Turkish music, had such a surname indicates that some way or another word made its way to Anatolia.



The river named Kökö-Meren that crosses from one to the other of Suusamyr Valley



Mountain 'möngü' (snow pack), the source of waterways

¹⁷ See Döölötsha İsaev, *Jer-suu attarynyn syry*, Frunze 1977, p. 95.

Karagyz Mambetsıdıkov and His Family

Another of the summer pasture we visited at Suusamyr is known by the name Tegerek Kaıyn. This summer pasture is located on the left side of the road that leads from the center of Suusamyr towards Osh. We noticed while going to the summer pasture that the nomad families set up their tents, known as ‘bozüı’, quite a distance from one another. It is understood that the reason for this is the need to look after the animals and let them roam more freely. One of the nomad families in the Tegerek Kaıyn summer pasture is that of 64 year-old Karagyz Mambetsydykov from Kojotaı uruk (sub-clan) belonging to Sayak uruu (clan). The place where the family stays is 25-30 meters from the left side of the Osh road, on the bank of a generously flowing waterway. The family lives in Suusamyr’s center and comes to the summer pasture each year in the middle of May¹⁸. This must be an indication that this is the time to come to the summer pasture.



A Kyrgyz *aksakal* and his wife in traditional dress in Suusamyr



A nomad Kyrgyz with his horse in Suusamyr

The most significant thing one notices in the broad area in front of the family tents is the presence of animals like horses, in particular, and ‘koı’ (sheep), ‘echki’ (goats) and ‘uı’ (cattle). There is a mark known as ‘en’ on the animals’ ears. The roots of ‘en’ go way back and it is a sign that shows that the animal belongs to a particular family. In this regard, each family has a special ‘en’ for this purpose. The head of the family, Karagyz Mam-

¹⁸ Karagyz Mambetsydykov (born in 1943) is from Suusamyr aıyl, Jaıyl raıon, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on June 17, 2007).

betsydykov, explained that the 'en' for the cows, sheep and goats came from his forefather; while he himself gave the 'en' to the horses¹⁹. But it is important to take note here of a number of aspects about the ownership of animals as property. One of these is that a 'tamga' (brand), whose root goes back many years and which we would expect to be put on large animals like horses and cattle, is not encountered. Instead, there is the 'en' on their ears. Another matter of note is that the 'en' used by a family for its horses is different from that used for the same family's sheep, goats and cattle.

The lack of a 'tamga' on large animals like horses in this family must be an effect of the collectivization implemented in the Soviet Union after the 1917 Revolution. In this period, regional production, management and social centers known as *kolkhoz* were set up in places where all nomadic groups congregated, particularly in the winter quarters called 'kyshtoo', and all the property a family owned was taken from it and given to the *kolkhoz*. Consequently, there was no need felt to brand the few large animals that remained and the more practical 'en' mark began to be used on the ears of the animals. But we should note that the 'tamga' was not completely forgotten and some Kyrgyz families put traditional 'tamga's not only on large animals like horses, but on sheep, as well. These 'tamga's, which, in the nomad community, belonged essentially to clans and later to family lines, are today found in every family, relating to the processes experienced by the nomadic groups throughout the course of history and, in this regard, to the emergence of individuality as a matter of importance.



A herd of horses grazing in Suusamyr



Animals returning from pasturing in Suusamyr

The scene around the tent of Karagyz Mambetsydykov reflects the situation of a typical nomadic Kyrgyz family. At a distance of 25-50 meters toward the front of the tent one sees sheep, goats, cattle and horses. Some of the sheep are nursing their young lambs, indicating that they recently came from the summer pasture. Also, one sees the 'koroo', the roofless, fenced place where the sheep will lie in the evening, and the 'jele', where

¹⁹ Karagyz Mambetsydykov, see note 14.

the young horses known as ‘kulun’ are tied up. At the same time, we note the presence of a few animals named ‘taïgan’, which are similar to dogs, around the tent. The *taïgan*²⁰ accompany the herds in the summer pasture, at the side of the shepherds, and are of a thinner build and less powerful than the ‘döböt’, which is the male dog of the Kyrgyz. Nevertheless, *taïgans* run faster than dogs and catch animals like ‘kashkulak’, ‘suur’, ‘kurt’ (wolf) and ‘tilki’ (fox), which eat ‘chöp’ (grass) and ‘chychkan’ (rodents) in the summer pasture. Certain names are given to the *taïgan* among the Kyrgyz community, depending on the animal’s characteristics. In this regard, the fastest runners among them are ‘uchar’; good hunters are ‘algyr’; those that catch animals that eat the meat of deers, in particular, are ‘kaïberen’; and those with a yellowish color are known as ‘surcha’.

Structure and Internal Arrangement of a ‘Bozüi’

Their tents have an important place in the lifestyle of nomads. Among the Kyrgyz, tents that are easily set up and taken down are generally called ‘bozüi’. Here ‘boz’ comes from the color of the felt, which is made from the wool of white sheep, atop the tent; ‘üi’ means home. When the bozüi is set up the door faces east in order to take in the sunlight. We noted that the entrance of Karagyz Mambetsydykov’s tent in Suusamyry Valley faced east, as well. Upon entering the tent, just on the right side, there is a leather container called ‘chanach’, used in the making of kymyz (koumiss). The ‘chanach’ has to be both thin and soft, and stiff and sturdy, so it is made from goatskin. Since sheepskin is soft and disintegrates easily it is not used in making ‘chanach’. The kitchen equipment is next to the chanach, and we noted the clothes and other articles of the lady of the tent nearby. It is evident that the left side of the tent is the domain of the male. Generally, this is where the tent’s man keeps his clothes, his *kalpak* (hat), his whip and his horse’s saddle sets. The place directly across from the tent’s entrance is called ‘tör’, where trunks with beds and quilts on top of them lean up against the backside of the tent. In front of them is where the man of the house and guests sit. For meals in the bozüi, a dinner cloth is spread on the ground in the center of the tent and a circle is made around this cloth. The thing to keep in mind about the sitting arrangement is that the elder of the house and guests sit on the ‘tör’ side. Among the food and drink that is always on the dinner cloth are kymyz, green tea known as ‘kök chai’, nan (bread), kaïmak (cream), meat and ‘beshbarmak’.

²⁰ The depiction of “*taïgan*” on rock paintings known as petroglyphs must be an indication that the Turkish peoples and groups in Central Asia, as well as other groups, were well acquainted with this animal from very early times of history.

Economic Activities

In Suusamyr, the families' economic activity is generally based on raising animals. In this regard, the basis for Karagyz Mambetsydykov's family's economic activity is milk and milk products, linked to their animals. For certain, the most important milk product is 'kymyz', which is made from the milk of a horse known as 'jylky'. Milk is taken from the *jylky* seven or eight times a day for 'kymyz'. The milk taken from cows, sheep and goats each day is used to make products like 'kaïmak', 'sarymaï', 'aïran' (yoğurt), 'süzmö' and 'kurut' (dried milk). In order to obtain all these products it is necessary to graze, care for and milk the animals, so just about every person in a nomad family that lives in the valley has a different job to do. Each family member concentrates on a particular job and, as a result, the individual becomes expert and the job is done in an organized and scheduled manner. Therefore, one must think of Suusamyr not just as a place where animals graze, but also as a place where traditional work sections are apportioned for family members and where these individuals become experts in their respective sections.

As the example of Karagyz Mambetsydykov shows, a large portion of the families that come to Suusamyr stay in the summer pastures from spring to winter and, as winter approaches, they return to the villages, which serve as winter quarters. There are, however, families that have settled in the summer pastures in Suusamyr and spend the four seasons there. These families' basic economic activity is also raising animals but rather than living in tents they live in homes known as 'tam'. Toktobolot Kazakov, who is 75 years-old, and his family are one of those families who have settled in the summer pasture. The family raises horses, cows, sheep and goats and they live along the side of the road that passes through the center of Suusamyr, where there are more economic opportunities for them.

Conclusion

We can say that the traditional nomadic lifestyle lived in the summer pastures of Suusamyr Öröönü, which over the course of history has been a meeting place for a great many nomadic groups, continued in an active way up until the middle of the 19th century. After that time the region came under the administration of Tsarist Russia and the Russian population began to arrive. Consequently, one notes that a small segment of those living the nomadic lifestyle moved to settlements or thought about doing so. After the 1917 Revolution, in particular, it must be said that the traditional nomadic lifestyle started to be abandoned with some haste, in concert with the establishment of Soviet Union administration in the region. The most important reason for this abandonment was that when their animals, which formed the basis of their animal-focused economic life, were taken from

them and given over to *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* entities, they felt no need to migrate without their animals. Nevertheless, the animals given over to the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* administrations were brought to the summer pastures and winter quarters, depending on the season, by shepherds under the control of the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* entities that were now directing them. In this way, the new Soviet system had no choice but to avail itself of the experience of the nomads in animal raising. This situation allows us to say that the animal-raising culture of the nomads, which was an important economic source in the nourishment of mankind, became an economic resource in the Soviet system, as well, and certain aspects of it were protected, bringing it to the present day.

Social and Economic Changes in the Transition: The Case of Suusamyr Valley in Kyrgyzstan*

Today the herders of the villages of Suusamyr and Tunuk are travelling to pastures about 10 to 18 kilometers from the villages to breed their animals during warm seasons. Japarbek Makishov, a herder from Tunuk village, goes with his animals to Char Uya and Akmoloo summer pastures, approximately 13 kilometers from his village. He has 70 sheep and goats, 9 horses and 5 cows. The pasturelands called Char Uya and Akmoloo have been used by Makishov and 16 other herders for four months every summer. This has been happening now for many years, and the herders are accustomed to this lifestyle, making their living from sheep breeding. It is of course their good fortune that there is a long road called *Bishkek–Osh Jolu* that lies in the central part of the valley and which connects the capital with several large regions of the country. It is again for the benefit of herders and the village inhabitants, as well as for organizing services for travelers along this road, as they are able to sell their fresh and natural animal products and some meals. Char Uya and Akmoloo are about 10 kilometers from the road, and herders of that place cannot bring their animal products to the road to make money. But in this case, the merchants who do their marketing close to Char Uya and Akmoloo come there themselves, because all 16 herders provide them with cheaper goods as much as they can buy. Those merchants come to the 16 herders every other day, thus enabling the herders of Char Uya and Akmoloo to make their livelihood from the road, even though they live rather far away from the main market road.

From the perspective of pastoral living, Suusamyr is one of the largest valleys in Kyrgyzstan as well as in Central Asia. The name Suusamyr comes from a river called Suusamyr running to the east. The toponym is composed of ‘suu’, which means water and ‘samyр’ which means ‘sable’, an animal found on the shores of the rivers. The valley covers a surface of 4,300 square kilometers, 2,200 meters above sea level and lies on a high steppe plateau surrounded by mountains. Besides, Suusamyr Valley has many summer pastures and six villages: Tunuk, Kaısar, Birinci Maı, Kojomkul (8th Mart), Kyzyl-Oı and Suusamyr (central village). The main road between Bishkek and Osh passes through the middle of the valley. It lies at a distance of 160 kilometers from Bishkek. This road was one of the branches of the Silk Road¹.

* It was published in S. Chatterjee-A. Sengupta (eds.), *Communities, Institutions and ‘Transition’ in Post 1991 Eurasia*, New Delhi 2011, pp. 317-325.

¹ For general information about Suusamyr Valley, see “Suusamyr Örөөнү” (Suusamyr Valley), *Kırız Sovet Entsiklopediyasy*, Frunze 1980, Vol. V, p. 472.

Some historical sources indicate that Suusamyr was used as summer pastures by the nomadic people under the rule of the Scythians (Saka), Huns, Köktürks, Türgesh, Karakhanids, and Mongols before Kyrgyz rule². From then onwards till the second half of the 15th century, the nomadic people who started to live under Kyrgyz rule used these summer pastures³. One of the most important features of nomadic lifestyle is the movement between summer pastures and winter quarters for the grazing of animals. This was accomplished without damage to the natural and ecological environment. We can say that summer pastures have played a significant role in uniting nomadic groups. In the Suusamyr case, not only in the past but also now there have been similar advantages for nomadic groups. It is understood from some oral sources that leaders of Kyrgyz nomadic groups, such as *uruu* and *uruk*, gathered and solved some issues in Suusamyr Valley⁴. One of the reasons is that Suusamyr lies between Chuï, Talas, Naryn, Osh and the Jalalabat regions of Kyrgyzstan. Besides, several main roads cross there in various directions. Therefore, Suusamyr has very important advantages as a seasonal place for nomadic peoples who migrated from those regions⁵. Also, some nomadic groups travelled long distances to Suusamyr in the past. In this connection, there is an old Kazakh song referring to this feature of Suusamyr. This song bearing the name of ‘*Suusamyr-Eldin Jäïlaui*’ (Suusamyr-Summer pastures of People) goes like this: *Suusamyr, eldin jăïlaui / Ömirdin bar ma baylaui* (Suusamyr-Summer pastures of People / If you tie there, you have a long life)⁶. We understand from this song that Suusamyr has become a meeting place and a place for uniting most nomadic groups.

The collapse of such a huge economic machine as the Soviet Union, had its negative effects on post-Soviet Kyrgyz herders’ life. During and after transition, they encountered privatization, liberal market economy and re-organization of labor, income and outflow of household expenses, etc.

² For some archeological objects related to these periods in Suusamyr, see P. N. Kozhemyako, *Baïyrky madaniyat estelikterin saktăily*, Frunze 1969, p. 70.

³ See in particular *İstoria Kirgizskoy SSR, s Drevneyshih Vremen do Naşih Dney*, Vol. I, Frunze 1984, pp. 430-476.

⁴ Stambulbek Mambetaliev (born in 1977) is from Suusamyr aïyl, Jăïyl raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on June 17, 2011).

⁵ In this context, V. I. Lipskiï, a Russian traveler, who passed in Suusamyr Valley on 10-17 July, 1903, expresses that although migration season had just begun to Suusamyr Valley, nomads in waves were flowing into the valley (V. I. Lipskiï, “Po Gornym Oblastyam Russkago Turkestana: Tyan-Shanya”, *İzvestiya İmperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva*, Vol. XLII, 1906, no. 1, S. Petersburg 1906, p. 126.

⁶ For the text of this song, see *Aul Keşî Könildi* (Joyful evening of aïyl), Compiled by Haydolla Tilemisov, Almaty 1993, pp. 135-136.

Consequently, herders experienced significant changes in their livelihood, subsistence strategies, as well as in pastoral living. This paper argues that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Kyrgyz people returned to their former nomadic traditions to cope with the hardships of transition, mostly in the rural areas of Kyrgyzstan.



Families returned to their former nomadic traditions in Suusamyr

This paper examines the social and economic changes that have taken place in the Suusamyr summer pastures in Kyrgyzstan as a result of the transition after 1990, and it focuses particularly on changes in pastoral life - the example of present-day pastoralists in the summer pastures. This work is mainly based on material of fieldwork conducted there in August 2009 and January 2010, in the villages of Suusamyr and Tunuk in the Suusamyr Valley of Kyrgyzstan. There are about 300 *tütüns* (households) in Suusamyr and 90 *tütüns* (households) in Tunuk. The total population of Suusamyr and Tunuk is around 2,000. All of the families, except a couple of families in Suusamyr and Tunuk, belong to a nomadic community called *Sayak uruu*. Sayak uruu in Suusamyr consists of nine big *uruks* (sub-tribe) known as Shabolot, Toktogon, Kojotaï, Janysh, Joluke, Kyrbash, Chal uulu, Borgemik and Temircan. In addition to these, there are three small *uruks* called Kapsalan, Öïdö chekti and Toktor. Also, there are two *uruks* named Kyrbash and Joluke that were settled mostly in Tunuk.

Pasture Organization

After the 1917 Revolution, Soviet rule established and formed *kolkhozes* (collective farms) and *sovkhozes* (state farms). At that time, Suusamyr was used and organized as one of the main pasture lands for animal husbandry, and thousands of livestock were bred on *kolkhozes* and *sovk-*

hoses to meet the animal production targets of the Soviet economy. In this connection, the Valley of Suusamyr was mainly used by herders of the Chuï region. Herders coming from the *kolkhoses* and *sovkhoses* of districts like Jaïyl⁷, Moskva, Sokuluk, Alamüdün, Isyk-Ata and Kant were spending both their winter and summer seasons there. Then the MTS (Mehanizatorskaya Traktornaya Stansiya) was established in the village of Suusamyr in 1953, the main task of which was to provide food services, meals and straw by tractors for the animal and *chabans* (shepherds). In 1960, the MTS was turned into the MJS (Mehanizasiya Jivotnovodcheskaya Stansiya) in order to sow the cereals and produce food for animals. After that, the GOO (Glavnoe Ovsevodščeskoye Obyedinenie [Sheep Breeding Center] was established instead of the MJS by the authorities in the 1980s. According to Sadykbek Chynybaev⁸, ex-director of Suusamyr *sovkhoz*, while the number of sheep at the MJS was approximately 2,500, the GOO had around 75,000 sheep, 350 horses and 90 cows in the late 1980s. In the 1990s there were about 39,000 sheep, 300 horses and 120 cows. This was due to the fact that the government did not care much for *kolkhoses* and *sovkhoses*. At that time, the sheep were divided into groups in order to herd them more easily. Each group was known as a herd (*atar*). 450 or 500 ewe constituted a herd. Also, between 500 and 650 rams (*irik*) formed a herd. Each herd was driven by a *chaban* (shepherd) with his one or two *koïchus* (assistants) and an *ash-pozchu* (cook). We can estimate that over 150 *chabans* (shepherds) were engaged in the breeding of sheep in high pastures of the valley within the GOO in Suusamyr in the 1980s⁹. The number of *chabans* was around 80 in the 1990s. So the Soviet state was more concerned with the use of grasslands in pastures in a highly organized manner because of the high quantity of sheep, and gave great attention to organizational issues related to sheep breeding.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the new herders did not follow the same pastoral organization since the number of livestock was not as high as it was in the Soviet period, and they tried to measure and benefit from every single unit of grasslands. The problems of pasture and systematic usage of the grasslands are of little account to the 'new herders'. After the drastic decrease of animal husbandry between 1993 and 1996, a lot of pastoral space in the valley was left unattended and unused. Secondly, some of current herders are not professional like the herders of the Soviet period, and they have almost no idea of the systematic use of pastures.

⁷ Former name of this district was Kalinin.

⁸ Sadykbek Chynybaev (born in 1943) is from Suusamyr aïyl, Jaïyl raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010). He became an accountant (*buhgalter*) of Suusamyr *sovkhoz* in 1982, director of Suusamyr *sovkhoz* in 1990, and retired in 1998.

⁹ For Sadykbek Chynybaev, see note 8.

While many pastures in the valley, like Ak Suunun Tegeregi, Tegerek Kaïyn, Aramza, Taldy Suu, etc., were used by groups of herders in the Soviet period, they are now only used by some individual herders¹⁰.

‘Paris’ in Kyrgyz Pastureland

During the Soviet period, the road which lies in the central part of the Suusamyr Valley played a significant role in the transportation of animal products among the regions, as well as in the cycle of life of the herders between seasonal places. From 1982 onwards, *sarays* (winter shelters) started to be built for shepherds in the Suusamyr Valley, and one shelter was even constructed on the highway, about 12 kilometers from Suusamyr village. In Soviet times, these kinds of winter shelters were equipped with electricity, cold and hot-running water, combustion engines and many other such kinds of utilities. Since the Soviet economy prospered from livestock products taken from these shelters, the state did all it could to get through this productive process with minimum loss.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, faced with a free market economy, the people experienced hardships, devaluation of the currency, and inflation. The money and goods crisis made the people try very different ways of making a living, since the state entities were left inefficient. The winter shelters of shepherds were bought and privatized by local people. One of the winter shelters in Tokoïluu (Tokoyluu) summer pasture, which belonged to Jumgal sovkhov, was on the highway in the 1980s. In about 1993, Baïyshbek Akmatov, who was a man from Jumgal district and a guide in this winter shelter, and who had bought the above-mentioned winter shelter, established a *bozüï* (yurt) and wagon on the edge of the highway and started to maintain a food service with his wife and children for travelers along the road. He had almost no problem with servicing, since the place was fully equipped with the main kinds of utilities, like electricity, and hot and cold-running water. So he succeeded in his business in the first year and carried it on in the following years¹¹. By that time there was a very significant effort to develop marketing in the Suusamyr pasture along the highway, in particular.

Some inhabitants from the same villages of Turat, Nurbek, Asylbek and Dinar, who were aware of Baïyshbek’s business, brought their own *yurts* and settled in neighboring Baïyshbek in the second year, and they also started to maintain their food service there. All of them were selling

¹⁰ Japarbek Makishov (born in 1957) is a current herder in Tunuk aïyl, Jaïyl raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).

¹¹ Stambulbek Mambetaliev, see note 4.

*kymyz*¹² and *chalap* as beverages as well as *shorpo* (soup) and *kuurdak* (fried meat) for the travelers while living in their moveable *bozūis* (yurts), *alachyk* and *palatka* (a kind of tent)¹³.



A view in winter season from Paris



A coffee house called Paris in Paris

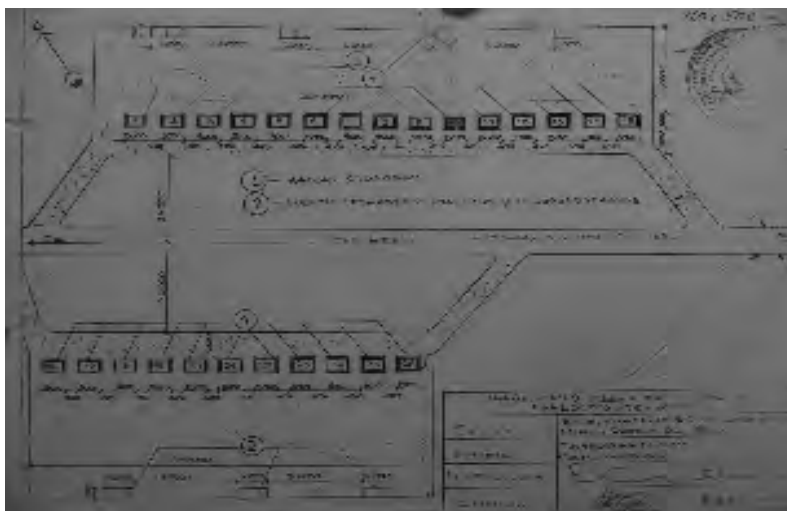
The servicing of travelers along the road started to turn into a good business for all those new ‘merchants’, and in the following years the number of those who settled in neighboring Baïyshbek greatly increased. But since the valley is a pastureland situated at an altitude of about 2,200 meters with a temperature of 42 degrees below zero in the winter, merchants did not stay there all year-round in their yurts and tents. In 1997, they started to build single and two-storied homes there, and started carrying on their services year-round. After the construction of houses, the types of services diversified. For instance, the merchants who built two-storied homes turned the second floor into motels for clients, and they started to serve as repair shops and cafeterias. The number of merchants increased year by year, and they came from other places as well, like Toktogul, Kara-Balta, Talas and Jumgal¹⁴.

¹² One of the well-sold animal products is *kymyz* which is produced from sour mare’s milk. This is considered a traditional beverage with lots of useful ingredients for human health. Travelers, who are mostly Kyrgyz citizens and who travel by the same road in Suusamy, usually stop their cars to buy some *kymyz* from merchants. Besides, natural animal products from the pastures have a lot of positive medical advantages for health, and many patients who have serious internal pain are recommended to have a *weekly kymyz-drinking*, as a course of medical treatment, by their doctors. Such cases really enhanced the importance of *kymyz*. Once in a certain pastureland some merchants made false *kymyz*, made by mixing some powder and water, and as a consequence of which some travelers were poisoned.

¹³ Baktybek Kydyraliev (born in 1979) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aïyl, Jaïyl raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).

¹⁴ Toktokan Kushubakova (born in 1948) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aïyl, Jaïyl raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010). In this connection, Kushubakova stressed that this place was an arable Sovkhoz at the beginning and after coming to Tokoïluu summer pastures in 1994. First of all, she established a *palatka* (Russian tent), then a *bozūi* (yurt), after that a wagon and finally built a cafeteria in 2001 and 2002.

This place has now come to be called 'Paris' (in Russian pronunciation is 'Parij') by the local people. One popular version is that in 1998 some merchants of the place decorated their buildings with many-colored lights to attract travelers' attention, and then all settlers started to do the same thing. Every motel, coffee shop and repair shop was decorated with different colored lights. With lights, loud music as well as disco bars, this place became new and attractive, like Paris in France, to the local people. Somehow it was gradually renamed 'Paris' by the local people. The area where this marketing center is situated was formerly called Tokoïluu and written like that in official documents; but now people and visitors call it Paris. This is but a small piece of history of Paris in the Suusamyр Valley, which was once a winter shelter for shepherds¹⁵. Another version is that when Askar Akaev, ex-President of the Kyrgyz Republic, visited Suusamyр Valley, he compared the beauty of pastureland to Paris. From then onwards, people started to call this place 'Paris'. In this connection, the main road called the Silk Road in the past between Bishkek and Osh was renewed from 1997 to 2003.



The copy of an original document related to Paris settlement place

Today there are 28 merchant families in the winter who are permanent residents of this hub called Paris. 25 of these families are from Suusamyр village, 2 from Talas and one from Jumgal. 28 cafeterias, 20 shops, 3 motels, 3 repair shops, 3 coffee shops and a disco bar are catering their services to the people here. The number of families increases up to 60 during the summer season. A public medical center started to operate last year with the support of the head of Suusamyр village. All of the shopping and ser-

¹⁵ Stambulbek Mambetaliev, see note 4 and Toktokan Kushubakova, see note 14.

vice buildings are situated on both sides of the main road. The buildings on the right side of the road belong to Panfilov *raïon* at a distance of 160 kilometers from Paris and, on left side of the road the buildings belong to Jaïyl *raïon* at a distance of 100 kilometers from Paris. The shopping and service buildings on the left side have to pay lower taxes compared to those on the right side. The reason for this is the distance from Panfilov. The authorities always support the residents of the Service Center and try to solve all their problems. More than 35 per cent of the village population makes their livelihood from this place, living in and around the Paris Center, and the village receives over 65 per cent of its income from this Service Center¹⁶.

Merchandising in the Pastureland

In the years 1994-95, the market economy started to flow into the herders' life in the Suusamyr pasturelands by the road used by thousands of drivers and travelers across the valley. This big road called *Bishkek-Osh Jolu*, lies in the central part of the valley and connects the capital city with four big regions called Osh, Jalalabat, Batken, and Talas, as well as some towns which are close to the highway.



Families selling animal products on the main road in Suusamyr



A woman and her daughter selling 'kymyz' in Suusamyr

Commercialization started from the place currently called Paris and was developed by merchants from different places like Osh, Talas, Jumgal and Chuï in warm seasons. They construct their *yurts* and carriages all along the road and sell dishes and fresh animal products. They cook dishes themselves, but they buy animal products from herders in the neighborhood. Thousands of automobile drivers and their travelers who go along the road everyday are the main clients, because it is in generally known that fresh and natural animal products (horse and cow milk, yoğurt / yoghurt, etc) can be found in these kinds of pasturelands. So travelers do not go without stopping somewhere on the way to buy something or have a meal. Today

¹⁶ Sadykbek Chynybaev, see note 8.

they have been serving over 200 families in warm seasons, including the inhabitants of Paris¹⁷.

In August 2009, about 120 foreigners, who came for an international symposium program to Bishkek, were taken to the Suusamyr Valley to see current pastoral life and to experience of Kyrgyz hospitality. A merchant who hosted the guests in his three *yurts* told us that his family made good money by hosting guests and did not have much difficulty, for he had been informed a day before and had made all necessary preparations among his family members. He also knew permanent herders in the neighborhood who delivered the necessary amounts of animal products¹⁸. Thus, both the merchants and herders earn their daily needs through collaborating. Some herders are far from the main road and do not know merchants who can sell them their products. In these cases, they gather their animal products in a couple of days and bring them to the road and leave them for wholesale merchants. For instance, the herders in Kyrbash and Aramza pastures who live only 5 km from the road follow this marketing strategy¹⁹.

Conclusion

The Suusamyr Valley has been a place of change in different periods of history. The present research is only an example of change that occurred after post-Soviet transition. This study shows the importance of field research for understanding the current social and economic problems of pastoralist families as well as all the people in rural areas.

¹⁷ Toktokan Kushubakova, see note 14.

¹⁸ Bekjan Omurov (born in 1934) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aïyl, Jaïyl raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan.

¹⁹ Japarbek Makishov, see note 10.

A Circumcision Feast in Kyrgyzstan

There are two important points in the lifelines of people of this world. One of these points is 'birth', the start of life, and the other is 'death'. It should be said that between the two aforementioned points there are some important stages that occur and these come in the framework of the common traditions, customs and beliefs of the group to which almost every person belongs. These stages have peculiarities, variations and differences according to the group, but for people who are members of Turkish or Moslem groups the first things that come to mind are 'kırkın çıkması' (a baby turning forty days), 'sünnet' (circumcision), 'nişan' (engagement), 'kına gecesi' (henna night before the wedding day), and 'evlenme' (marriage). These and similar stages are accepted as cultural values and there are variations among the aforementioned groups, as well as major and minor differences. The people and communities that have carried these stages from antiquity to today and that keep them alive in today's globalized world still exist. In this context, it is noteworthy to point out that the Kyrgyz people of Central Asia have an important place. The most vital reason for this is that the nomadic lifestyle among the Kyrgyz people is almost 'genetic' and the many cultural values within this lifestyle are transferred from generation to generation. In this regard and in our globalized world, research, investigations and determinations made concerning the traditions and beliefs of the Kyrgyz people have great importance not just for the Kyrgyz but for other Turkic people and communities, as well. Regarding these traditions and beliefs that pass from generation to generation, it will be appropriate to conduct investigations and determinations concerning 'circumcision', which is of great interest to the entire community and which constitutes an important tradition and belief of the Kyrgyz people, and to bring clarity to certain concepts.

Among the Kyrgyz, circumcision is known by the names 'sünnöt', 'sünnötkö oturguzuu', 'bala oturguzuu' or 'chochok kesüü'. The most commonly used of these concepts is 'bala oturguzuu'. In Kyrgyz society, circumcision is thought of as the beginning concurrent with the acceptance of Islam. We can say in this regard that Islam began to spread in what is today Kyrgyzstan in the late 9th and early 10th centuries, through the activities of sufi sheikhs, and that its spread gained speed with the acceptance of Islam as the state religion by the Karakhanid rulers of the region in the year 955. Nevertheless, it is also worth pointing out that during the Qara-Khitai

and Mongol periods Islam was weakened and Budism and Christianity spread. The fact that this happened can be attributed to the Mongol's tolerant administration, from the standpoint of religion and beliefs. But with the acceptance of Islam by rulers descended from Chingis Khaan in the beginning of the 14th century, Islam was reinvigorated in the Kyrgyz geography and began to spread. In the 1340s the Mongol state fell apart and after it split into two parts, the Kyrgyzstan area came to be governed by the Turkic ruler Toguluk Timur. His line administered the region until the 1480s, during which time Islam was declared the state religion, and it began to spread among nomads, in particular. With the coming of Moslem families -12,000 tents (nearly 60,000 people) from Karatekin region which belonged to Tajikistan in 1636, it is understood that Islam's spread in Kyrgyzstan geography was complete¹.

In order to better understand the circumcision event in the Kyrgyz society / community and to clarify more fully the concepts related to the matter, one must personally attend this event and make observations. Essentially, in the social sciences investigating, observing, making determinations of an event at its source, and subsequently forming commentaries based on both materials collected at the event site and written accounts are important and a fundamental research method. In this context, a social scientist in Kyrgyzstan may encounter and come face-to-face with such an event at any time. We ourselves found the chance to observe this important event of Kyrgyz society, the circumcision event. In this regard, on 9 September 2007 we attended the circumcision feast in Kyrgyzstan for Süimönkul Alymkul uulu, the name of the grandson of our very close friend Manap Kaljigitov. On that date we went to Karl Marks village, where Manap Kaljigitov lives and where the circumcision ceremony took place.

The village of Karl Marks is located 40 kilometers away from the capital of Bishkek. It is easily reached by taking the road from Bishkek toward Manas Airport and turning left before reaching the airport, with the village lying 15 kilometers ahead. As far as it is understood this village in the northern region of Kyrgyzstan was established during Soviet times. But this was not the first time we had visited this village. We had come to the village for the first time on 11 December 2004 and had a long interview with Manap Kaljigitov's family and his 'uruu' (clan). Manap Kaljigitov, with his knowledge, comportment and gestures, and the traditional 'kalpak' (hat) upon his head, was the perfect example of an 'aksakal' (respected and distinguished person). Based on the information he gave us, we learned that most of the village's residents had come from the south of Kyrgyzstan dur-

¹ For the most recent study of the Kyrgyz community's acceptance of Islam see Anvarbek Mokeev, "Rol sufiiskih sheykhov v rasprostraneniі islamskoy religii v Kyrgyzstane", *Journal of Turkic Civilization Studies*, no 2 (2006), pp. 125-136.

ing the Second World War and afterwards. Manap Kaljigitov had migrated with his family to this village from his home town called Batken in the south of Kyrgyzstan rather recently. According to Kaljigitov, Batken region reflects not only Kyrgyz but also Uzbek and Tajik cultural values and his 'uruu' (clan) is known as the Adalaky uruu (clan), which belongs to the Aabad uruu. This clan is tied to Ichkilik, which is one of the three main wings of Kyrgyz society².

We approach the village of Karl Marks on the day of the circumcision ceremony, 9 September 2007. The village is set on a flat plain, with trees having been planted afterwards, and the most prominent trees are poplars. As we enter the village there is a slight breeze and the leaves on the trees whisper sweetly to us. The village's streets are orderly and most of the houses are one-story, with orchards and gardens. We notice activity all around Manap Kaljigitov's house as we come near it. Manap Kaljigitov's one-story, gardened house is very attractive. When we reach the front of the house we can smell the meat and food cooking on stoves in an open area. The dining places set up on the tables made of wood can be seen near the stoves because the weather is so nice. Tables set up this way are generally called 'sörü / söörü' in southern Kyrgyzstan³. This term is sometimes known by the name 'charpaya'⁴, which is also used in northern Kyrgyzstan, showing that the term 'charpaya' passed from southern to northern Kyrgyzstan. 'Charpaya' is encountered at places like tea houses and coffee houses and the word comes from 'char' (four) and 'pay' (foot) in the Persian language, giving the meaning of a four footed, or four-legged, table.

We notice that the circumcision house is in a courtyard and the stoves have been set up in front of it. In the Kyrgyz language this courtyard is known as 'koroo'⁵. In Turkish the equivalent is probably 'koru' or 'korunak yer' (shelter, place of refuge). Similar to courtyards in Anatolia, a 'koroo' has a gate that is opened onto the street. This gate is known as 'darbaza' and it comes from the Persian word 'dervaze', which can mean gate,

² Manap Kaljigitov (born on June 28, 1925) is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuї raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (first interview on December 11, 2004). Manap Kaljigitov said during the interview that his official birthdate is June 28, 1925 but he also said that he is 81 years old, making his birth year 1923.

³ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, II, Frunze-Moskva 1965, p. 161.

⁴ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, II, p. 351, see "çarpaya".

⁵ The Kyrgyz people also use the word 'koroo' for the place where animals lie in the open air, surrounded by rocks. The entrance to koroo's set up this way used to be called 'koo' in the past and then 'eshik'. If the doors to the koroo's entrance are made of wood then these doors are known as 'kashaa'. In this regard, places where animals lie in the open surrounded entirely by trees are known as 'kashaa'.

fortress gate or city gate. At the front of this gate stands Manap Kaljigitov, acting as the host of the circumcision feast, much like a 'kirve' (godfather at a circumcision) in Anatolia, who personally supervises all the preparations related to the feast. We are met with grand hospitality from Manap Kaljigitov's wife Umsunaï Asankulova, Alymkul Kaljigitov, the father of the boy being circumcised, the boy's mother Meïlikan Akimbekova and other family members, and we enter into the 'koroo'. Here we see many young girls and brides in a great hustle and bustle, providing food and other things to the guests. When we move from the 'koroo' into the house, we pass a few rooms with their doors open and notice cloth dining spreads covering the floor inside. This indicates that the guests can eat either indoors or outdoors if the crowd gets too big.



Grandmother Umsunaï Asankulova and Grandfather Manap Kaljigitov tenderly prepare their grandson for circumcision

The Kyrgyz people call the big dining spread placed on a table or the floor 'dastorkon'; the placing of the food on the 'dastorkon' in a particular way is known as 'dastorkon jaïuu'. It is understood that 'dastorkon' essentially comes from the Persian word 'destârhân', which means food sent on a tray. As a sign of respect, the Kyrgyz call food offered to guests who come for any reason, not just for a circumcision feast, 'syï tamak'. In this regard, we are taken to the house's furthest room to eat. The most important aspect of the meal place that we notice is that there is a seating protocol, based on the guests' age and status. Here the oldest guest takes his places at the 'tör', or the head of the dining place. The other guests are placed according to age and hierarchy to the right and left of the person seated at the 'tör', and this system continues to the end of the dining place. It should be noted that this seating arrangement among the Kyrgyz is traditional and is implemented for circumcision feast meals and all other kinds of ceremonies, meetings and, in fact, for normal family meals.

The first thing that comes to one's attention at the dining place is the round 'nan' (bread) that is made from dough and is an inseparable part of any Kyrgyz dining place. Next to this one always finds 'boorsok', which is made from kneaded dough filled with sarymaï (butter), 'süt' (milk) or 'aïran' (yogurt). After the dough sets for two or three hours it is cut into lengths that resemble an organ, called 'ichegi' in Kyrgyz and 'bağırsak' in Anatolian Turkish. Then these pieces are cut to between three and five centimeters, fried in vegetable oil and the result is 'boorsok'. The fact that the dough is cut into long pieces in a form resembling 'ichegi' or 'bağırsak' makes one think that there may be a relationship between the Kyrgyz word 'boorsok' and the Turkish word 'bağırsak'. In addition, there is another food called 'kattama' (Turkish 'katmer', layered pastry) that is made by putting butter or 'sarymaï' into the dough, kneading it and doing the same thing layer by layer. This is then cooked in butter or vegetable oil. At the dining place one also finds 'sarymaï', which is made from the cream of cow's milk and put into bowls known as 'chyny', jams and salads. Following these is the main meal, a meat pilav. The drink continually served during the meal is a 'green tea' known as 'kök chaï'.



Food awaiting the invited guests at a dining place known as dastorkon

One sees that every group of visitors always honors a tradition before rising from the dining place after the meal is over. This tradition has an elderly person, who notices that everyone has finished their meal, opening both hands, bringing them to his face and making the sound 'oomin' (amin). The other guests then accompany him with this sound. The Kyrgyz call this prayer 'Bata' and here 'Bata' is like 'Fatiha' (opening chapter of the Kuran), as spoken by the people. Among the Kyrgyz people there is a saying, '*Jamgyr menen jer kögöröt / Bata menen el kögöröt*' (the earth turns green with the rain / the people bloom with Fatiha), and this is spoken even today in a lively way, showing that praying in this manner has become a tradition.

Additionally, this tradition is a sign of the trust the Kyrgyz have in the power of 'bata'. The Kyrgyz see 'bata', in the sense of the Fatiha, and 'bata berüü' and 'bata aluu' as having spiritual meanings relevant to taking a first step or starting a job in order to fulfill a wish or a hope.

It is noteworthy that in the Kyrgyz community all the traditional ceremonies, foremost among them circumcision, require long periods of preparation. In this regard, prior to the circumcision ceremony very close relatives are informed and they come on the first day of the circumcision. This day is called 'adiya kün' (presents day)⁶. It is interesting that this name is used more in southern Kyrgyzstan and it is certain that 'adiya' comes from the Arabic word 'hediye', with the pronunciation changing in the Kyrgyz tongue. 'Adiya' is also known as 'adie' in the Kyrgyz language and it means the material support that relatives and friends give to the circumcision house⁷. As seen in the changes in Kyrgyz from 'hareket' to 'araket', 'hazır' to 'azır', 'hukuk' to 'ukuk' and 'hesap' o 'esep', the occurrence of the initial 'h' sound dropping off is frequent and palatal letters being replaced by velar ones is a fundamental element of Kyrgyz pronunciation. That is why the word 'hediye' settled in among the people as 'adiya'. 'Kün' has the same meaning as 'gün' (day). Based on the financial status of the relatives, their gifts may be a sheep, a goat, a colt, a horse, a cow, a rug, clothes or money. These gift-givers are known as 'adiyakash' in the Leilek and Batken regions of southern Kyrgyzstan; as 'adiyakesh' in Osh and Alaï; and as 'adiya berüü' in Jalalabat. The terms 'adiyakash' or 'adiyakesh' here are rendered in written Kyrgyz literature as 'adiekehr' or 'adiyakech'⁸. The 'kash', 'kesh' or 'kehr' added on to 'adiya' or 'adie' come from the Persian language '-kesh', meaning one who pulls. Consequently, 'adiyakash', 'adiyakesh', 'adiekehr' and 'adiyakech' have the meaning of gift-giver.

In places like the Osh region of Kyrgyzstan a 'tai' (colt) has a special meaning among the presents given to a child at his circumcision feast. In this regard, relatives from the circumcised child's mother's side-grandfather (taiata), grandmother (taiene), aunt (taije), aunt's husband (taijezde / taajezde), uncle (taiake) and uncle's wife (taijenge / taajenge)-give a decorated 'tai' as a gift for the child. After the circumcision the child sits on the colt, says: 'Sen jigıt (yigit) boldun' (get going!) and starts to roam around. As seen in the example of the circumcised child's mother's side's 'taiata', 'taiene', 'taije', 'taijezde', 'taiake' and 'taijenge', the 'tai'

⁶ Manap Kaljigitov, see note 2 (second interview on September 9, 2007).

⁷ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar / Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, Frunze-Moskva 1965, p. 22.

⁸ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar / Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, p. 22, see "adiekehr".

takes them on as a prefix and, in fact, in Kyrgyz society when one wants to find out where a boy or a girl's mother comes from he asks 'Taïların kaısy cerden?', 'Taïlaryn kaıaktan?' (essentially, 'where is the colts from?') and the aforementioned terms for the various relatives are revealed so the role of 'taï' plays is unavoidably thought-provoking.

Close relatives who come from a far as guests for the circumcision feast make a show of leaving a pot filled with candy, chocolate, nuts and other snacks in front of the door as a sign that they have reached the circumcision house, saying 'this is the *taï* (colt) we are giving you. May it be auspicious and even sweeter'. The children, girls and brides grab these and eat them. On the first day, based on the family's economic circumstances and the number of guests, either a 'uı' (cow), 'jylky' (horse), 'taï' (colt), 'torpok' (calf) or a 'koı' (sheep) is slaughtered as a kind of sacrifice. 'shorpo' (soup) and 'paloo' (pilav) dishes are made with the sacrificial meat. The relatives are housed on the first day in the homes of nearby relatives and neighbors, and a sheep is sent from the circumcision house to each of these homes. Based on Kyrgyz custom, a sheep is cut up into 12 pieces and offered to guests. Each one of these pieces is known in Kyrgyz as 'jilik' or 'ustukan'. The word 'jilik' probably relates to the Turkish word for marrow, 'ilik', to mean the meaty bones of the animal. So, since a big piece of meat must be given to each of the guests this means that between 6 and 12 guests are sent to each house. The householder slaughters the animal toward evening and prepares foods like 'sorpo', 'paloo' and 'beshbarmak'. While the guests, relatives and neighbors are in their houses, a commission of 'aksakal' (respected and distinguished person) is formed in the circumcision house. One of the commission members then goes to each house to check whether the food prepared for the guests has been done so with the proper care. The member sits at the table and tastes the food. This is called 'ooz tiyüü' (taste-testing).

The guests spend the night at the house they find themselves in and come to the circumcision house after breakfast the next morning. This is the second day of the circumcision and the busiest day. On this day the close relatives get together and decide who among the neighbors should be invited. Generally, the decision is that no one should be left out. After deciding, a person known as a 'kabarchy' (messenger) visits all the neighbors on behalf of the circumcision house and invites them. The neighbors who come on the second day first present their gifts, which are called 'alamanashy'. Of course, these people are offered a meal. In this regard, the meaning of 'alaman' in 'alamanashy' is either 'el' (hand) or 'halk' (people)⁹ and therefore in the language of the people it is understood to

⁹ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, I, p. 45, see "alaman".

mean gifts brought by individuals who have no blood ties to the circumcision house. In general, the gifts are clothing and they are given at weddings and feasts. In the south of Kyrgyzstan they are known as 'sarpaï'¹⁰, and in the north as 'kiyit'. Goods, money, rugs and such things are known as 'adiya'. The 'sar' in 'sarpaï' is from the Persian language word 'ser' (head) and 'pay' is from the Persian language 'pay' (foot). Manap Kaljigitov and his family migrated from the Batken region, which is close to Persian-speaking areas. So, among the Kyrgyz 'sarpaï' carries the meaning of any item of clothing that can be use from head to foot. The word 'kiyit' means 'to wear' so its meaning covers all kinds of clothing. In any event, we learn that a total of 7 sheep were received as gifts by Manap Kaljigitov from his close relatives and about 10,000 som (money) was received from all the guests.

One of the important aspects about the circumcision house is that there must be no problems arising regarding service, despite the guests coming one after another to the house. It is noteworthy that the people serving the others are generally the close relatives of the circumcision house. But to ensure that there are no interruptions in service by them two other people continually monitor the activity. These are the circumcised child's 'chong ata' (grandfather) and 'chong ene' (grandmother). In this manner, at the circumcision feast that we are attending 'chong ata' Manap Kaljigitov and 'chong ene' Umsunaï Asankulova tell the others to 'toktot' (turn down) the loud music coming from the tape-player in the garden.

The result of a party such as this is that, as Manap Kaljigitov explains it, about 500 person came to his grandson's circumcision ceremony; 9 sheep and one cow were slaughtered to accommodate these guests; six of the sheep, out of the seven that came from close relatives, were sent to the homes that hosted the relative guests; 1,000 loaves of 'nan' (bread), 70 kilograms of 'kürüch' (rice), 150 kilograms of 'koon' (melon) and 250 kilograms of 'darbyz' (watermelon) were purchased; and for every four kilograms of rice one kilogram of vegetable oil was expended¹¹.

In the Kyrgyz community, circumcision is a custom handed down from the Prophet of Islam, Muhammed. According to this, in Islam God's commands are duties and what the Prophet Muhammed has done are 'sünnöt'. So, in this regard, if a child is not circumcised then the tip of the organ concerned will remain dirty. That is why it is said that circumcision

¹⁰ K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar/Kyrgyzcha-oruscha sözdük*, II, p. 136, see "sarpay". In this version of the word, the meaning relates to the gifts given by the bride's side to the groom's guests.

¹¹ Manap Kaljigitov, see note 2 (second interview on September 9, 2007).

is required in Islam¹². Of course, although this circumcision began because the Kyrgyz are Moslems, it was done during Soviet times, as well. Generally, the age and year of a circumcision should be odd numbered, such as ages 3, 5 or 7 and years ending in an odd number. For Süimönkul, he is 5 years old and the circumcision is being done in 2007. Sometimes children aged 9, 11 or 13 are circumcised. In this regard, Joldubaev Shaïdilla, a 59 year-old teacher in Karl Marks village, states that most boys are circumcised at ages 5 or 7, but there are some who are circumcised at ages 9 or 11¹³. Therefore, a grandfather arranges circumcision feasts for the sons of his son or sons when they turn 3, 5, 7, 9 or 11. That is why there are some economic considerations about when a circumcision feast will be arranged¹⁴. The reason why circumcision feasts are done at odd-number ages instead of even-number ones is that God is understood to be one. In fact, with this in mind, the Kyrgyz take care to eat 'örük' (plum), 'alma' (apple) and 'jüzüm' (grape) one at a time¹⁵.



Circumciser Raïymdar Kibirov



A neighbor who gave a gift to the circumcised Süimönkul

Although there are modern circumcisers in the cities and towns of Kyrgyzstan today, in the rural areas one still encounters people who came to this profession as it was handed down from father to son. One of these people is 74 year-old Raïymdar Kibarov¹⁶, who performed the circumcision of Manap Kaljigitov's grandson in Karl Marks village. Kibarov says that he learned this profession from his grandfather Veïsel Sherifoğlu and that he has been doing it for 57 years. With his fedora on his head and his bag

¹² Manap Kaljigitov, see note 2 (second interview on September 9, 2007); Umsunaï Asankulova is an inhabitant of Karl Marks aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).

¹³ Shaïdilla Joldubaev (born in 1948) is from Karl Marks aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).

¹⁴ Shaïdilla Joldubaev see note 13.

¹⁵ Manap Kaljigitov, see note 2 (second interview on September 9, 2007); Umsunaï Asankulova, see note 12.

¹⁶ Raïymdar Kibarov (born in 1933) is from Karl Marks aïyl, Chuï raïon, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).

by his side, Kibarov cuts a figure of the circumciser we used to often see in our childhoods in Anatolian villages. During conversations about circumcision Kibarov refers to the organ to be circumcised as ‘chochok’, whereas one remembers that in Anatolia this organ was referred to a bit differently as ‘chük’.

Those at the site of the circumcision are grandfather Manap, a ‘mol-do’¹⁷, a term which comes from the Arabic ‘molla’, who ensures that religious obligations are observed and the circumciser. In this context, grandfather Manap puts the head of his grandson Süimönkul, who lies on the ground, on a pillow, embraces the boy tenderly, strokes his hair and prepares him psychologically. Concurrently, Kibarov, the circumciser, opens his bag and slowly takes out the instruments he will use for the circumcision, putting them into a tray. He calls these instruments ‘ustara’ (razor), ‘bizi’ and ‘kamysh’. The razor is the same as one used for shaving and is a tool for cutting. The ‘bizi’ is the length of a pencil, about 10 centimeters long, and with a sharp tip. Using it ensures that the circumciser’s hand will not touch the penis and that the skin will be cut in a controlled manner. The ‘bizi’ is made of wood and its tip is sharp. In Anatolia such a tool is used to make small needle holes when sewing leather, shoes and similar things, and to prod a stubborn mule to move on. In Anatolia, where it is called ‘biz’ or ‘bizi’, it has a wooden handle and a nail or needle at its tip, and its useage is similar to the way it is used in Kyrgyzstan¹⁸. The ‘kamysh’ is cut from the reeds that grow in watery places and is formed by cutting it in the middle. Kibarov explains that he made the simple-looking ‘bizi’ and ‘kamysh’ himself.

As circumciser Kibarov completes his preparations, grandfather Manap brings Süimönkul’s head to his chest and puts his arms around the boy. Next, Kibarov kneels in front of Süimönkul and inserts the ‘bizi’ 3 or 4 centimeters into the skin at the tip of the penis. Then the skin the ‘bizi’ has pierced is snared by the ‘kamysh’, which has been split at its middle, and the razor is used to cut this skin off. After this, blackened cotton that has been heated in fire is put on the place that has been cut, to prevent any microbes from reaching the wound. Kibarov conducts the procedure calmly and carefully. He then turns to grandfather Manap after the circumcision is over and makes the following recommendation: *‘based on the type of skin*

¹⁷ In regard to ‘mol-do’ (molla), one encounters personal and family names among the Kyrgyz such as Moldo, Karamoldo, Tokolok Moldo, Moldobaev / Moldobaeva, Moldobasanov / Moldobasanova, Moldokul / Moldokulovo, Moldoev / Moldoeva, Moldoshev / Moldosheva, Moldokmatov / Moldokmatova. This must reflect the place of the Islamic religion in the Kyrgyz community and that terms related to Islam are used in one way or another among the people.

¹⁸ This is known by the name “biz” or “bizi” and sometimes “bizgiç” in some regions of Anatolia (*Derleme Sözlüğü*, II, Ankara 1993, p. 714).

he has, he can get up in a day or two; but normally it takes a week for the wound to heal and during the week cotton oil should be spread on the wound to keep it soft; if the wound starts to bleed sprinkle powder on it. ' It is a custom among the Kyrgyz to give the circumciser money or a gift but it was not possible to learn what amount of money or what gift was given to Kibarov. Interestingly, after the circumcision was over guests continued to come until evening. They were offered food and came to the circumcision room to give money and gifts to Süimönkul, who had taken his first step toward manhood.

All of the activity described above reflects the importance of 'sünnöt' (circumcision) as a tradition in the Kyrgyz community. This tradition began to settle into the community with the acceptance of Islam and with time it has become an inseparable part. Circumcision was done during Soviet times and continues to this day. However, it is noteworthy to point out that certain concepts and conceptual notions concerning the circumcision feast have entered the Kyrgyz language a bit differently, despite the fact that they are essentially Arabic and Persian. This situation derives from the fact that through history oral tradition has been more prominent among the Kyrgyz than written language. Another aspect worth noting is that although the ceremony took place in Karl Marks village in the north of Kyrgyzstan, the concepts and conceptual notions related to circumcision are more closely associated with Kyrgyzstan's southern region. The reason for this is that the family within which the circumcision was performed had recently migrated from southern Kyrgyzstan to the north. As for why some concepts and conceptual notions about circumcision are Persian and Arabic, this relates to the proximity and effect of Tajik and Uzbek cultures on the southern region of Kyrgyzstan and the fact that those peoples became acquainted with Islam at an earlier time.

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Persons interviewed as Oral Sources

Abden Kuramaev (born in 1965) is from Suusamyr aйл (village), Jaйл район (district), Chuй oblast (province), Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 29, 2013).

Abdyjapar Mambetjanov (born in 1927) is from Manap uruk belonging to Sarybagysh in Jerge-Tal aйл, Naryn район, Naryn oblast (Interview on November 23, 2008).

Aida Düşenbieva (born in 1974) is from Naryn район, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Aйnagүл İmanova (born in 1960) is from Isyk Kөл район, Isyk Kol oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Aйнura Omurakunova (born in 1967) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuй район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

Almaz Osmonov (born in 1977) is from Tokmok city, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

Amurkan İsmailov (born in 1963) is from Yurevka aйл, Isyk-Ata район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Anarbek Abykeev (born in 1976) is from Beişeke aйл, Kemin район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Anarbek Kichinebaй (born in 1978) is from Ottuk aйл, Naryn район, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Asanbek Kakeev (born in 1962) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuй район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

Asman Kadimoglu (born in 1965) is from Yurevka aйл, Isyk-Ata район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Atyrkүл İbrahimova (born in 1959) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuй район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

Atyrkүл Musaeva (born in 1953) is originally from Minkush aйл, Jumgal район, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).

Bahiya Sharsheeva (born in 1969) is from Tepke aйл, Ak-Suu район, Isyk-Kөл oblast (Interview on May 12, 2010).

Baktybek Kydyraliev (born in 1979) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aйл, Jaйл район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).

Bekjan Omurov (born in 1934) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aйл, Jaйл район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan.

Burulkan Baltabaeva (born in 1939) is from Küntuu aйл, Sokuluk район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on January 29, 2011).

Bүbüra Kydyralieva (born in 1927) is from Vorontsovka aйл, Alamүdүн район, Chuй oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 7, 2007).

Cholponbek Düşenbiev (born in 1947) is from Ottuk aйл, Naryn район, Naryn

- oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).
- Döölötbek Saparaliev (born in 1953) is from Jumgal-Aktalaa raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 6, 2011).
- Düşön Kaïranov (born in 1965) is from Aral aïyl, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).
- Erkinbek Abdyrahmanov (born in 1966) is from Küntuu aïyl, Sokuluk raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).
- Fauziya Nazaraliev (born in 1943) is from Yntymak aïyl, Bakay-Ata raion, Talas oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 7, 2011).
- Gülbübü Mövküshova (born in 1935) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).
- Gülkan Mambetalieva (born in 1924) is from Īskira aïyl, Kant raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 18, 2007).
- Gülzura Jumakunova (born in 1954) is from Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on June 11, 2013, Seoul, Republic of Korea).
- Īmash Sarybagyshev (born in 1927) is from Tüp aïyl, Tüp raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 2, 2007).
- Jaïchybek Moldoliev (born in 1958) is from Küntuu aïyl, Sokuluk raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on 17 November 2010; second interview on January 29, 2011).
- Jamal Suleiman (born in 1953) is from Burana village, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).
- Jamal Toktogazieva (born in 1936) is from Tügöl Sal aïyl, Jumgal raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 22, 2008).
- Japarbek Makishov (born in 1957) is a current herder in Tunuk aïyl, Jaïyl raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).
- Jyldyz Jarty (born in 1971) is from Ton raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 12, 2011).
- Joldoshbek Beïshebaev (born in 1960) is from Alchaly aïyl, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).
- Kalbübü Īlebaeva (born in 1961) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).
- Kalygul Jusupov (born in 1935) is from Karataï aïyl, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 1, 2007).
- Kamantul Baltabaev (born in 1937) is from Küntuu aïyl, Sokuluk raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).
- Kanybek Abdykasymov (born in 1961) is from Madaniyat aïyl, Chuï raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).
- Karagyz Mambetsydykov (born in 1943) is from Suusamyр aïyl, Jaïyl raion, Chuï oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on June 17, 2007).
- Karagul Rayımbekov (born in 1930) is from Tokuz uul sub-tribe belonging to Sayak clan in Sheker villlage, Karabuura raion, Talas oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 8, 2011).

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Kasym İsaev (born in 1938) is from Chychkan aйл, Jedi Ögüz raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 25, 2008).

Kazybek Küsermambetov (born in 1936) is from Ügüt aйл, Aktalaa raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 19, 2007).

Kerimbübü Shopokova (born in 1917) is from Shalta aйл, Sokuluk raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on April 9, 2011).

Köchör Moldobaev (born in 1923) is from Kum Döbö aйл, Kochkor raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 22, 2008).

Kudaıbergen Tatanov (born in 1932) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuı raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 30, 2008).

Kunduzbübü Azyrankulova (born in 1960) is from Aktash aйл, Chatkal raion, Jalalabat oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).

Luba Shutova (born in 1957) is from Isyk-Ata raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on October 12, 2008).

Mahmutjan Sabirov (born in 1949) is from Tokmok city, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).

Maksat Apilov (born in 1980) is from Kurtka aйл, Aktalaa raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

Malika Usonova (born in 1964) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuı raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

Malimbübü Abakirova (born in 1954) is from Atbashy raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 15, 2010).

Manap Kaljigitov (born in 1925) is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuı raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on December 11, 2004 and second interview on September 9, 2007).

Marina Moldolieva (born in 1964) is from Küntuu aйл, Sokuluk raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 17, 2010).

Masudahan Pazyljanov (born in 1935) is from Tokmok city, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011).

Meerim İmash kyzy (born in 1970) is from Shapak aйл, Aksuu raion, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on 17 May, 2007).

Mirsharif Pazyljanov (born in 1932) is from Tokmok city, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011).

Moldobek Kalnazarov (born in 1967) is from Kurtka aйл, Aktalaa raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

Murzapar Aitaliev (born in 1968) is from Kashka Suu aйл, Aksu raion, Jalalabat oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).

Nasip Tatanova (born in 1938) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuı raion, Chuı oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 30, 2008).

Nurbübü İbraimkyzy (born in 1920) is from Tarsuu aйл, Chong Kemin, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on August 7, 2008).

Nurlan Abdylдаev (born in 1967) is from Kurtka aйл, Aktalaa raion, Naryn

- oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 28, 2011).
- Nurlan Alymkulov (born in 1976) is from Beışsheke aйл, Kemin raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).
- Omor Jamangulov (born in 1965) is from Burana aйл, Chuї raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on October 12, 2008, and second interview on November 20, 2011).
- Osmonakun İbrahimov (born in 1954) is former State Secretary of Kyrgyz Republic, 2000-2005, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 28, 2012).
- Osmonaly Kydıraliev (born in 1950) is originally from Minkush aйл, Jumgal raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).
- Osmonkul Kazakbaev (born in 1960) is originally from Aktash aйл, Chatkal raion, Jalalabat oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 29, 2011).
- Raıymdar Kibarov (born in 1933) is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuї raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).
- Sadat İmanhojaeva (born in 1933) is from Tokmok city, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 20, 2011).
- Sadykbek Chynybaev (born in 1943) is from Suusamyr aйл, Jaıyl raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).
- Shaıdilla Joldubaev (born in 1948) is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuї raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).
- Shaıloobek Kampabekov (born in 1970) is from Atbashy raion, Naryn oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 13, 2011).
- Shaıloobek Musakojoyeve (born in 1937) is from Musakojo aйл, Jumgal raion, Naryn oblast (Interview on February 25, 2008).
- Shamıtaı Mambetaliev (born in 1934) is from Örnök aйл, Isyk-Köl oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2008).
- Syrgak Sooronkulov (born in 1932) is from Okutur (Okatar) uruk (sub-tribe) belonging to Saruu uruu (clan) in Ürmaraıl aйл, Talas oblast, Kyrgyzstan (First interview on April 7, 2007, and second interview on March 31, 2013).
- Stambulbek Mambetaliev (born in 1977) is from Suusamyr aйл, Jaıyl raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan.
- Suusar Karybekova (born in 1954) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuї raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).
- Talaıbek Korgoldoev (born in 1968) is the current head of Küntuu aйл, Sokuluk raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).
- Temirbek Joldoshev (born in 1936) is from Belogorka aйл, Sokuluk raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on December 4, 2007).
- Tentimiş İbrahimov (born in 1954) is the head of Madaniyat Aйл Council, Chuї raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).
- Toktokan Kushubakova (born in 1948) is a merchant in Paris, Suusamyr aйл, Jaıyl raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on January 23, 2010).
- Toktomurat Mankiev (born in 1945) is from Küntuu aйл, Sokuluk raion, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

Umsunai Asankulova is from Karl Marks aйл, Chuї raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on September 9, 2007).

Uvazger Akmataliev (born in 1932) is from Kuntuu aйл, Sokuluk raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on November 17, 2010)

Zamira Sopubekova (born in 1952) is from Kuntuu aйл, Sokuluk raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on March 25, 2011).

Zina Abdykasymova (born in 1941) is from Madaniyat aйл, Chuї raїon, Chuї oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on February 12, 2012).

Zuuran Muhammedova (born in 1943) is from Madaniyat aйл, Bakay-Ata raїon, Talas oblast, Kyrgyzstan (Interview on May 7, 2011).

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